ORIGINES CELTICAE

GUEST

OXFORD:

BY E. PICKARD HALL, M.A., AND J. H. STACY,

PRINTERS TO THE UNIVERSITY.

ORIGINES CELTICAE

(A FRAGMENT)

AND OTHER CONTRIBUTIONS

TO THE

HISTORY OF BRITAIN

BY

EDWIN GUEST, LL.D., D.C.L., F.R.S.

LATE MASTER OF GONVILLE AND CAIUS COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. II

London

MACMILLAN AND CO.

1883

CONTENTS.

I. ORIGINES CELTICAE.

II. HISTORICAL PAPERS.

LIST OF MAPS.

CHAPTER I.

THE phrase 'the Britannic Isles' as old as the second century B.C. — The term Britannia first used by Caesar.—The name Britanni, its etymology; properly denoted the painted races, whether insular or continental; at last came to denote exclusively the races living on the island.

The Triad relating to 'the three Pillars of Britain,' and its historical significance; the Triad relating to 'the three Peaceful Tribes'—the Cymry who came to Britain over the German Ocean, the Lloegrwys who came from Gascony, and the Brython who came from Armorica. — The terms Britanni and Britones to be distinguished, the former signifying the British provincials generally, the latter the third immigrating tribe, the Brython; these terms often confounded by the classical writers. — Tribal names on the continent compared with those in Britain. — Tribal names of the continental Cymry unknown. — Tribal names of the Ligures, Brigantes, Iconioi, Coritani, Bebryces, &c. — Tribal names of the Brython, Parisi, Mani. — The Galedin.

Ancient names of Ireland. — Nennius on the primitive populations of Ireland.—Attempted explanation.—Confusion of Scots and Scyths.

The Picti mentioned by Eumenius, Ammianus Marcellinus, Claudian, and by Vegetius. — Suggested etymology, and meaning of freebooters. — Other notices of Picts.

[The following chapter is little more than a collection of fragments, some of which were intended as commentaries on parts of the Welsh Triads. It has not been thought necessary to print those parts of the Triads which Dr. Guest did not translate, and which seem to have been written out by him for mere purpose of reference.]

'THE Britannic Isles' is the oldest name we find given to these islands in the classical writers. Under this title Polybius (3. 57) refers to them in connexion with the tin-trade, and the well-known work on the Kosmos (c. 3) mentions 'The Britannic islands, Albion and Ierne.' The history of Polybius was written about the year 150 B.C., and the work on the Kosmos is generally attributed to Aristotle, an attribution which, if correct, would carry back the antiquity of the phrase some two centuries earlier. But in truth neither the authorship nor the age of this last-named work has been satisfactorily settled, and therefore

we cannot assert that the phrase, 'The Britannic Islands,' came into use before the second century B.C. The name Britannia first occurs in the works of Caesar, and was not improbably invented by him. Catullus, in the celebrated Carmen 29, uses the plural form 'Britanniae,' a phrase which in his time must have been equivalent to the older term, 'The Britannic Isles,' though it afterwards bore a very different meaning.

Many are the speculations which have been started as to the etymology of the word 'Britannia,' and among the later ones have been some of the most extraordinary[1]. Yet surely it is not one of those philological difficulties which we need despair of solving. Few persons will question that the name Britannia is connected with the name Britanni, in the same way as Germania, Gallia, Graecia, &c. with Germani, Galli, Graeci, &c., and it is not unreasonable to assume that Britanni was originally nothing more than the Latinized form of the Welsh word Brython, a name which we find given in the Triads to one of the three tribes who first colonized Britain. Now the Welsh ending *on* is used not only to form plurals, but also derivatives; thus from *hael*, generous, came *haelion*, the generous ones; from *ma*, a place, *maon*, the people, the multitude; from *gwyll*, darkness, *gwyllon*, ghosts; from *gwydd*, that which is withered, *gwyddon*, mites; from *llaith*, soft, moist, *llaithon*, soft roe; from *gwyn*, white, *gwynon*, dry sticks, &c.; and by the same analogy from the Welsh *brith* and Irish *brit*, particoloured, may have come Brython, which on this hypothesis would signify the painted men. Camden, notwithstanding his faulty speculations in this matter, considered the first element of the word Britannia to be this Welsh word *brith*, and Legonidec, our first authority in Breton philology, considered the Breton word

[1] The latest I have seen is in Mr. Isaac Taylor's 'Words,' p. 60. He suggests that the elements of the word 'Britannia' may be the Basque *etan*, 'which is used to signify a district or country,' and the Breton word *bro* a country. How these words came to be compounded, or what was the significance of the compound we are not told.

Breizad, a Breton, to be derived from *brîz*,[1] particoloured. As far then as philology is concerned, there seems to be no objection to our assuming *Brython*, and therefore also *Britanni*, to signify the painted men. How this Celtic name first came to denote the inhabitants of these islands is a question, the proper answer to which lies deeper than is generally supposed.

There is a 'mythus' relating to the ancient Celts which has not met with the attention it deserves. More than one edition of it has come down to us. According to Diodorus (5. 24) a certain great man who held sway in Keltikē had a daughter famed for her strength and beauty. In her pride she thought no one worthy of her till she saw Heraklēs as he was building Alesia. With him she fell in love, and had by him a son named Galatēs. This son grew up, conquered many nations, and called his subjects Galatai, and their country Galatia. According to Parthenius (Erotica, c. 30), Heraklēs, as he was passing through the country of the Keltoi, visited Bretannos, who had a daughter named Keltinē.[2] This daughter fell in love with Heraklēs, and had by him a son named Keltos, from whom the Keltoi received their name.

It is not difficult to translate this mythus into history. The Brython or painted men became acquainted with the Tyrian Heraklēs, or in other words with the Phoenician traders, and under the influence of Phoenician civilization lost much of their former barbarism. Among other barbarous customs which they relinquished was that of painting themselves; and it was with a people thus partially civilized that the Greeks came into contact when they landed on the coasts of Gaul and built Marseilles.

This interpretation agrees with legends which have been handed down to us in Greek history. We are told (Diod. 4. 19) that when Heraklēs came into Keltikē with his

[1] The assibilation of the dental is one of the peculiarities of the Breton dialect.

[2] Query Keltikē.

forces he was joined by many of the inhabitants, put an end to their cruel and ferocious customs, and built Alesia. As many barbarians were mixed with the citizens, Alesia gradually became barbarized, but it was still looked upon as the metropolis of Keltikē, and was never conquered till the final conquest of Gaul by Caesar. The Keltoi round Marseilles, though the Greeks looked upon them as barbarians, must have already felt the influence of this Phoenician colony long before the Greeks settled among them. But in the remoter districts there were doubtless tribes who, for centuries after that event, exhibited all their original rudeness. Even as late as the first century there were, according to Pliny (H. N. 4. 31), 'Britanni' —i.e. painted men—living on the coast immediately north of the Somme. The sands, heaths, and forests of this dolorous region were well suited to be a refuge for Celtic barbarism; and there is reason to believe it was not the only one on the German Ocean. Pliny tells us (H.N. 25. 6) that when Germanicus was encamped on the coasts beyond the Rhine, his troops suffered from a certain complaint, probably scurvy, and were cured by the use of a herb, which the Frisii pointed out to them, and which was called the Britannic herb. Pliny marvels how the name originated, and his editors have been equally at a loss to account for it. It has been conjectured that the plant was a species of scurvy-grass which grows on the sea-shore, and is a well-known anti-scorbutic. If we suppose that the Frisii first heard of this specific from the Brython, remains of whom still lingered in their neighbourhood, we see at once the reason why they called it 'the Britannic herb.' The name of these Brython seems to have haunted the shores of the German Ocean even down to modern times. Lipsius, in a note to Tacitus' Annals (1. 63), speaks of a marshy tract on the Ems called 'Bretansche Heyde'; and the names of 'Brittenburg' and 'Het huys te Britten,' given to certain ruins[1] near Catwyk, at the old mouth of

[1] Cluverii, Germ. Ant. 2. 36, p. 175.

the Rhine, may be best explained on the hypothesis that the ancient Brython were once settled in that neighbourhood.

This location of the Brython on the coasts of Germany agrees with the statement of Dionysius Periegetes (v. 280). In describing the boundaries of Europe that writer tells us:—

> ῥέα τέρμα κιχήσεαι Εὐρωπείης.
> Τῆς ἤτοι πυμάτην μὲν ὑπὸ γλωχῖνα νέμονται,
> Ἀγχοῦ στηλάων, μεγαθύμων ἔθνος Ἰβήρων,
> Μῆκος ἐπ' ἠπείροιο τετραμμένον, ᾗχι βορείου
> Ὠκεανοῦ κέχυται ψυχρὸς ῥόος· ἔνθα Βρετανοὶ,
> Λευκά τε φῦλα νέμονται ἀρειμανέων Γερμανῶν.

> Easily will you find the boundaries of Europe,
> Towards whose farthest projection dwells
> Nigh to the Columns the race of the magnanimous Iberes,
> In length of district turned to the mainland, where the cold stream
> Of the Northern Ocean is poured forth, where the Bretanoi
> And the fair-coloured races of the warlike Germans dwell.

We have here no allusion to any island, and the probable inference is that Dionysius supposed the 'Bretanoi' to dwell on the mainland with the Germanoi. Such was the construction Eustathius put on the passage. That able commentator notices the spelling of the name Bretannoi with a single instead of a double *t*,[1] and observes that Dionysius in other cases drops a letter in order to make good his metre. He then proceeds, 'The British islands (*βρεττανίδες νῆσοι*) *lying opposite*, and of which we shall speak hereafter, are named after these Brettanoi.'

The work of Dionysius was twice paraphrased, first by Rufus Festus Avienus, and afterwards by Priscian. The passage referred to was rendered respectively by these authors as follows:—

> 'velut obvia habebis
> Caetera terrarum; tellus Europa columnis
> Proxuma magnanimos alit aequo caespite Iberos.

[1] The spelling of the word Britannia with one or two t's was a few years back a subject of warm discussion with reference to the legend proposed for the new coinage, viz. Britanniar. Rex. It was ultimately decided against the opinion of Eustathius.

Hi super Oceani borealis frigida tangunt
Aequora, et excursu diffusi latius agri
Arva tenent *duris nimium vicina Britannis*
Flavaque caesariem Germania porrigit oram,' &c.
Avienus, Descript. Orb. 4. 14.

'Sic Europa tibi facili dignoscitur arte
Ad cujus summum, prope metas Herculis alti
Magnanimae gentes dederat queis nomen Iberus,
Ad spatium multum terrarum rura colentes,
Oceanum boreo contingunt frigore durum;
Scrutanturque decus pulchrum sapientibus auri.
Quos tamen haud maculat praesens nec dejicit absens,
Qua sunt Germani bellaces atque Britanni,' &c.
Priscian, 267.

Camden supposed, but surely without sufficient reason, that Avienus differed from Eustathius in the construction he put upon the language of Dionysius. We must not suppose the geographical knowledge of the Romans was on a level with our own. A Roman map was a ludicrous caricature, and carried the outline of a country through every variety of distortion. According to the views of Avienus, the 'British gales' may have blown from the eastern shores of the Channel as readily as from the western, from the continental Brython as readily as from the insular. Even Stephanus Byzantinus, though (*s. v.* Brettia) he quotes Dionysius as an authority for writing Brettanoi, the 'ethnic' name of the insular Briton, with a single *t*, is not necessarily at issue with Eustathius; for all are agreed that the continental and the insular Britons had a common name. It is obvious that Eustathius must have had Stephanus before him, when he wrote his comment, yet he unhesitatingly places the island *over against* the Bretanoi of Dionysius.

The line of country we have supposed the continental Brython to dwell in is the same in which we previously located the Cimbri (vide vol. i. p. 41), and I think we may infer that Bretanni and Cimbri were merely different names for the same people. Other considerations point to this conclusion.

In the strange verses which Virgil wrote against the historian, T. Annius Cimber, and which Quinctilian has preserved (8. 3. 28), the poet calls the object of his satire 'the British Thucydides.' We may infer from Cicero's sarcasm, alluded to by Quinctilian, and from the commentary of Ausonius (Grammatico-mastix, Idyll. 12), that Cimber was by descent a German Celt; and he may indeed have derived his name of Cimber from this circumstance. There is no good reason that I know of why Virgil should give him the title of 'Thucydides Britannus,' unless he intended to play upon the name of Cimber, and considered it to be a mere synonym of the name Britannus.

There are certainly grounds for the belief that down to the close of the second century B.C. there was a continuous line of Cimbric settlement on the coasts of the German Ocean from Jutland to the Rhine, if not to the Somme; and moreover that these Cimbri were known to the more civilized Gauls as the Brython, or painted men. After the great body of the Cimbri invaded the Empire in the year 113 B.C., the principal seat of this people appears to have been Jutland, but they were found in scattered bodies further south, and as late as Pliny's time some of them were living in the neighbourhood of the Somme.

* * * * * *

[Here Dr. Guest intended to insert his observations on 'A Triad the most ancient form of Celtic record; the several collections of Welsh Triads now extant; how far useful for the purposes of History.' The next extant fragment of the chapter is a copy and translation of the following Triad; the original Welsh is here omitted.]

'Three pillars of the tribe of Ynys Prydain—first, Hu Gadarn, who came with the tribe of the Cymry first to Ynys Prydain, and from the land of summer, which is called Deffrobani, they came, to wit where is Constinoblys, and over the Mor Tawch they came unto Ynys Prydain and Llydaw, where they have settled. Secondly, Prydain, son of

Aedd Mawr, who first established a body politic and a sovereignty in Ynys Prydain, and earlier than this was there no justice save what was done from good feeling, nor law save that of the strongest. Thirdly, Dyfnwal Moelmud, and he first made arrangements as to the processes and laws and customs and privileges of the country and tribe, and on account of these things were they called the three pillars of the tribe of the Cymry.

'Three honest tribes of Ynys Prydain. First was the race of the Cymry, who came with Hu Gadarn to Ynys Prydain; truly he would not get country and lands by fighting and pursuit but by justice and in quietness. Secondly was the stock of the Lloegrwys, who came from the land of Gwaswyn, and they were descended from the original tribe of the Cymry. Thirdly were the Brython, and from the land of Llydaw they came with their descent from the primary stock of the Cymry, and the three peace-tribes are they called from coming, the one with the consent of the other, in peace and quietness, and these three tribes were from the primitive race of the Cymry with a common speech mutually intelligible to the three tribes[1].'

Ynys Prydain, or the isle of Prydain, is one of the Welsh names of Britain, and it was so called, we are told in another of the Triads, from Prydain, son of Aedd Mawr. Deffrobani is the classical Taprobane or Ceylon, which in medieval geography was considered the extreme eastern, as Britain was considered the extreme western limit of the world. In the opinion of him who wrote, or perhaps we should say of one who transcribed the triad, Deffrobani lay somewhere in the neighbourhood of Constantinople! The Mor Tawch, or hazy sea, is the Welsh name for the German Ocean, Gwaswyn is Gascony and Llydaw Brittany. Lloegrwys means the men of Lloegyr--a name which the

[1] Y trioedd canlynol a gymmerwyd allan o lyfr ysgrifeniedig y diweddar Barchedig Mr. Richards o Lanegwad yn Ystrad Tywi, a fu ym menthyg gyda 'r Parchedig Mr. T. Walters o Landocha ym Morganwg gennyf fi Iolo Morganwg Myvyrian Archaeology, 2. 57.

Welsh still give to the southern part of Britain. After thus much of preface we shall be the better prepared to enter upon an explanation of these Triads.

Dyfnwal Moelmud appears to be the Welsh prince who in the sixth century organized the kingdom[1] which under the name of Domnonia so long maintained itself in the west of Britain. A code of laws purporting to be that promulgated by Dyfnwal Moelmud is still extant, and has been more than once published. Prydain seems to be the eponym of Roman Britain, and to symbolize the reign of law and order which characterized the Roman government of the island. The Welsh change an initial *b* into *p*, as the *prains*, *pless*, *petter*, &c. of Shakespear's 'Sir Hugh' sufficiently testify; and according to this law of letter-change Prydain would be the Welsh corruption of Britain. Stephanus Byzantinus tells us (v. Brettia)[2] that some call the British islands 'the Pretanid islands, as Markianos and Ptolemaios.' This is a mistake so far as regards Ptolemy, at least if we may trust the received text, but in the Periplus of Marcian (2. 41. &c.), written in the third century, we have the expressions 'the Pretanik islands' and 'the Prettanik Ocean.' Marcian's work was a coast-survey, and he probably adopted the names he found actually in use among the people he visited. We can thus account for the origin of the mythical Prydain, though we may still be unable to explain how he came to be fathered as a son upon Aedd Mawr, i.e. Aedd the Great. Hu Gadarn, or Hu the mighty, the mysterious being who first brought the Cymry to Britain, plays a great part in Bardic theology. He has all the attributes of deity assigned to him, and by some has been identified with the Hesus or Gaulish God, whose name appears on the ancient altar found on the site of Notre Dame at Paris.

We must not suppose there ever were the three peaceful settlements here commemorated. The author of the Triad

[1] See below, pp. 252, 257.

[2] Stephanus Byz. also has the entry Pretanikē. 'The inhabitants are called Pretanoi.'

had no doubt heard of these early colonizations, and, as no records of the wars which followed them had reached him, he gave them the character they bear in the Triad. That events followed each other in these, much as in other cases of the same kind that history has handed down to us, is clear from the localities in which we find the several colonizing races settled. The name of Cymry is unknown to the Breton language, and is only known to the Cornish as indicating the race of our modern Welshmen. It is however the cherished appellative of this latter people, and must also have been borne by the tribe occupying the district known to our ancestors as *Cumbra land*, i. e. the land of the Cumbras[1]—in other words, the district reaching from the Lake country to Clydesdale. As far as our knowledge goes, the name of Cymry was never used as a national appellative by any other tribe inhabiting the British islands. Here then we find the descendants of the earliest colonists occupying the mountainous districts in the west of the island, the very places in short where we might expect to find them, on the supposition that they were driven from the more fertile districts by the later immigrants.

The second of the immigrating tribes were the men of Lloegyr, and they came from the country which in the middle ages was called Gascony, a district, as we have seen (vol. i. pp. 72–74), once occupied by the Ligures. I believe Lloegyr to have been the original name of the people, and to have been brought with them when they passed over from Gascony to Britain. As in hundreds of other cases, the name of the people was by degrees appropriated to the country, and the name of Lloegyr-wys or men of Lloegyr was, at a subsequent period, invented to designate the inhabitants of the country which the Ligures had colonized.

The third colonizing tribe, the Brython, are said to have come from Llydaw or Brittany. Llydaw, like Armorica, signified the sea-board or maritime district, and, like

[1] *Cumbras* is the nominative of the genitive *Cumbra*. Kemble's Codex Dipl. 3. 59.

Armorica, it may at one time have been used to denote a larger district than it does in modern usage. We have reason to believe that the more civilized tribes in the valley of the Rhone gave the name of Brython or Britannoi to their ruder countrymen who retained the barbarous custom of painting themselves. In the time of Pliny there remained in Gaul only one small tribe of Britanni, who lived north of the Somme. But a few centuries earlier the whole north-west of Gaul was probably occupied by tribes of Brython, and it must have been the Brython spread over this wider area that are referred to in the Triad.

According to Strabo (4. 6. 2) there were four passages from Gaul to Britain—from the mouths of the Garonne, the Loire, the Seine, and the Rhine. The Garonne is the natural outlet of Gascony, and from it we may presume the Lloegyrwys came to Britain. The district of the Rhine was, at least during the historical period, occupied by the Belgae. The Brython, who were probably driven from their native seats by this latter people, may have passed over to Britain from the Seine and the Loire, and in such case they would naturally be represented as coming from Llydaw.

Ἔσσεται ἐν Βρύτεσσι καὶ ἐν Γάλλοις πολυχρύσοις
Ὠκεανὸς κελαδῶν πληρούμενος αἵματι πολλῷ.[1]

Sibylline Oracle, M. H. B., p. xciv. 2nd century (?).

That the Brython came originally from Llydaw was certainly a subject of very ancient belief among the Celtic populations of Britain, for Bede must have had Welsh authority for the statement, that the people who inhabited the southern part of the island, and gave name to Britain, 'came as it is said from Armorica' (H. E. I. 1). As in the time of Bede the Britons had for two centuries and more been immigrants to instead of emigrants from Armorica, this statement is a remarkable one, and was in all probability founded on some early edition of the very Triad we are now considering. How the Brython came to give a

[1] Procopius alludes to the Sibyl. M. H. B. lxxxiii. Brittia (v. Procopius), M. H. B. lxxxiv.

name to Britain is a question that has been already touched upon, but its importance is so great in an inquiry like the present, that it may well justify a more particular investigation of the subject.

The name Brython or Brettanoi (to give it its Greek dress) seems to have been used by the Greeks of Marseilles to denote all the Celtic tribes that painted themselves, whether living on the Continent or in the islands, but to have been accepted as a national appellative by the continental Brython only. This latter people had become familiarized with the term owing to their intercourse with their more civilized neighbours, and, when driven from their native seats by the Belgae, carried it with them into the islands. The three early colonizing races were accordingly known as the Cymry, the Lloegyrwys, and the *Brython*. In the time of Caesar few tribes that painted themselves were to be found in Gaul, and the name Britannoi was rarely used except to denote the islanders, and by degrees came to be exclusively applied to them. The Romans appear to have invented the word Brittones after the conquest, as a name for the insular tribe which they found distinguished by the name of Brython. As however conflicting opinions are held on this subject, it may be well to examine it with some care.

Continental scholars distinguish between the Britanni and the Brittones, and generally represent the latter as a continental people. They are not however of one mind as to the district in which this people dwelt. Masdeu[1] fixes them in Gallaecia, but other writers locate them in modern Brittany. There is not a tittle of evidence to show that Brittones ever existed in Gallaecia, and just as little to show that they existed in Brittany save as a part of the early Brython, of whom we have been speaking, or as fugitives who fled from Britain in the fifth and sixth centuries.[2]

[1] Opusc. p. 204, quoted by Orelli, Inscr. I. 193.

[2] Horsley seems to have been in doubt as to the character of the Brittones. Br. Rom. 89.

These mistakes were not altogether without excuse. The terms Britanni and Brittones are certainly distinguished in inscriptions. We may hesitate in recognizing a distinction in the case where Orelli seems disposed to find one (Inscr. No. 804), but in the decree of Domitian, which appears in the supplementary volume (No. 5430), the distinction is patent. By this decree Domitian conferred the rights of Roman citizenship on certain military corps, and in the list of the corps thus honoured occurs 'the first Britannic miliary cohort,' and afterwards 'the first miliary cohort of the Brittones.' It is probable that the Britanni who formed the first of these cohorts were levied from the general body of the British provincials, and that the Brittones who formed the second were part of the third immigrating tribe, the Brython. How it came to pass that the Romans recruited so largely as they appear to have done from this particular section of the British population, we shall inquire hereafter.

As all the Brittones were also Britanni, we can understand how easily those who were strangers to the country might confound the terms, and suppose that all the Britanni were also Brittones. That the classical writers sometimes made this blunder is too clear to admit of reasonable doubt.

> 'Qua nec terribiles Cimbri nec Britones unquam
> Sauromataeve truces aut immanes Agathyrsi,
> Hac saevit rabie imbelle et inutile vulgus.'—Juv. 15. 124.
>
> 'Quam veteres braccae Britonis pauperis,' &c.—Mart. 11. 21.
>
> 'Silvius hic Bonus est—quis Silvius? iste Britannus.
> Aut Brito hic non est Silvius, aut malus est.'—Aus. 110.

Forcellini admits, though with hesitation, that in the last example Brito meant an inhabitant of Britain, but he relegates to the continent both the Britones of Juvenal and the Brito of Martial. It is clear from the context that the Britones of Juvenal were formidable enemies to the Romans, and we know that the inhabitants of Britain had about that time given no small trouble to their masters under the conduct of Arviragus (Juv. 4. 127). What tribes

were there in Armorica to whom language such as Juvenal here uses was applicable? If Martial's Brito was a native of the Continent, he must have been one of the Britanni who, according to Pliny, were still to be found north of the Somme, but in all probability he also was an islander. In the fifth and sixth centuries there were no doubt Britanni on the Continent, but they were just as certainly fugitives from Britain. The Italian lexicographer mistook the real nature of the difficulty before him. In the cases cited the writers used the specific for the generic name, and confounded a particular tribe with the general population of the island.

Let us now see if we can trace any connexion between the tribal names of the early British colonists, and those of the kindred races on the continent. As the tribal names of the continental Cymry are unknown, we can trace no such connexion as regards the first of the immigrating races. As regards the Lloegyrwys the case is different. One of the most important of the British tribes were the Brigantes. They occupied our modern Yorkshire, and are said to have reached from sea to sea (Ptol. 2. 3. 16). The latter element of the word Brig-antes is a common ending of Celtic names, as in Jug-antes, Trinob-antes, &c.; and as the Irish *briog-ach* means hilly, and *ach* is the common adjectival ending, we may infer that the first element meant a hill. The Welsh *brig* now means top, or summit; but there is reason to believe it once meant a height. An Anglesey poet of the fifteenth century, Lewis (Glyn Cothi), warmed into enthusiasm by the thought of his patron's hospitality exclaims—

'Gorddu yw brig Iwerddon
Gan fwg cegman o Fon.'

'Black is the *brig* of Iwerddon (Ireland),
With smoke from the kitchens of Mon (Anglesey).'

where *brig* must mean the hills or cliffs of Ireland. I think we may reasonably infer that Brigantes originally meant hillsmen. There are several localities on the continent named Brigantium: one on the Lacus Brigantinus, in the

district of the Brigantii, a Vindelician tribe, and which is now called Brienz; a second, now Briançon, on the western side of the Cottian Alps, in a district where seem to have lived the Brigiani, noticed in an old monument described by Pliny (3. 24). This name of Brigiani may possibly have given rise to the mythical Bergion, who, as Mela tells us, fought with Hercules (see below, p. 18). A place called Mansio Byrigantum occurs also in the Jerusalem Itinerary, and must have been in the same neighbourhood. We may reasonably conclude that a people called Brigiani, or Byrigantes, inhabited the slopes of the Cottian Alps, and gave name to Brigantium. There was a third Brigantium on the north-west coast of Spain, probably near the place where Corunna now stands. But the character of the country round the Spanish Brigantium was not in an especial manner mountainous, nor were the districts inhabited by the Brigantes either in Ireland or in Britain; and, as the names are thus without local significance, we may infer that they were introduced by an immigrant people. If we suppose this people to have come from the Alpine district we last referred to, they must have passed along the valley of the Garonne in their journey westward. This would bring them to the neighbourhood of Carantonus, the modern Charente, a district which may have furnished the Coriondi, who seem to have accompanied the Brigantes to Ireland.

As the Brigantes and the Coritani bordered on each other in Britain, and the Brigantes and the Coriondi bordered on each other in Ireland, Sir James Ware conjectured that the Coritani were the same race as the Coriondi, and perhaps rightly, as in ancient Celtic *nd* not unfrequently represented a dental, and therefore the names Coriond-i and Corit-ani may be connected. As the Iceni were only separated from the Brigantes by the Coritani, and as Strabo's Iconioi[1] (4. 1. 11, p. 185) are generally placed

[1] Strabo (4. 1. 11) makes the Salyes dwell to the Druentia, thence to the Isara the Cavares, and above the Cavares the Vocontii and the Tricorii and the Iconii and the Medulli.

by geographers near Brigantium (Briançon), and the Uceni, whose name is apparently a mere variation of Iconioi, are in an existing monument coupled with the Brigiani, who probably gave a name to Brigantium, we may perhaps be allowed to draw a similar inference, and to consider Strabo's Iconii[1] as the mother race of our own Iceni, whose name, by the bye, is found sometimes written Iciani.

We have thus endeavoured to show a connexion between the Brigantes, Coritani, and Iceni of the British isles, and certain continental races who, there is reason to believe, were of Ligurian origin. I shall make no apology for pushing these enquiries further. The subject is one of great importance, and we may well value every glimmer of light that promises to lead us to a right conclusion.

One of the British tribes that submitted to Caesar was the Bibroci. Camden locates them in the Hundred of Bray, on the southern bank of the Thames, and this name may possibly[2] be a Norman corruption of Bibroci. Windsor forest and the connected woodlands were called in Anglo-Saxon *Bearruc wudu.* In Bearruc, which has given name to Berkshire, I would recognize an early English corruption of Bibroci, for the labial *b* is a letter which in our own, as in most other languages, is often evanescent. The Hundred of Bray was a district surrounded by woodlands, indeed such a district as would probably be the refuge of a tribe retreating before one more powerful. Now at the eastern extremity of the Pyrenees was an ancient people called the Bebryces, who were probably of Ligurian origin. This people may have joined in the Ligurian colonization of Britain, and given name to the British Bibroci. Again, John of Salisbury calls Wiltshire Provincia Severiana (De Nugis Curial. 6. 18), and Leland (Genethliacon Eädverdi) calls Salisbury Severia (vide Collectan. 2, p. 397). I have

[1] Strabo (4. 6. 5): 'After the Vocontii, Siconii, and Tricorii, and after these Medulli who possess the highest peaks.'

[2] It should however be observed that Bray is a name of common occurrence in British topography.

never seen an attempt to explain these terms, and therefore any plausible explanation may claim indulgence. There is reason to believe[1] that the Insubres were Ligurians, and one tribe of Insubres is placed by geographers on the Rhone, at no great distance from tribes which we have endeavoured to connect with Britain. Our antiquaries, though it must be confessed there is little to guide them in the matter, generally divide the name into the elements *In* and *subres*. As Strabo seems to have called the people *Sumbroi*[2]. and as among the Spanish Gallaeci, who were probably Ligurian by descent, there was a tribe called *Sebourr-oi* (Ptol. 2. 6), and moreover, as in medieval documents relating to the Insubrian districts in Italy mention is made of a castrum Subrii[3], the division may possibly be a correct one. If so, the primitive name of the people may have been Subres, and the Severi may have been Insubres or Subres, who settled in Wiltshire and managed to hand down their name in connexion with the district notwithstanding the subsequent conquest of the district by the Belgae. The Anglo-Saxon name for Salisbury (Old Sarum) was Sarisburh—that is, the burgh of Sar; possibly this name may be the Belgic corruption of the older form *Severoi*, the dropping of the *v* being in accordance with the peculiarities of the Belgic dialect. In this hypothesis we assume that the older form was used concurrently with the later one, and that in the twelfth century it regained its ascendancy.

In the Greek work on the Kosmos, and in other works of later date, the island is also called Albion. Some writers connect this name with the Latin word *albus*, and suppose it to refer to the white cliffs of our south-eastern counties. But as the name was certainly in use before the time of Caesar, we ought also to be informed how those who invented it came to use the Latin language for such a purpose. Others suppose that Albion came from Alban, a name given

[1] See above, vol. i. p. 89.

[2] Strabo 5. 1. 9, p. 216.

[3] Bonaventura, Gall. Ins. Ant. Sedes, p. 15.

to the Highlands by the Welsh and Irish[1], and which properly signifies 'the Hills'; but it is difficult to believe that the island was ever named after one of its most barren and worthless portions, and I would venture to suggest a different etymology. At the foot of the Maritime Alps, west of Genoa, were two Ligurian towns, Albium Ingaunum and Albium Intemelium[2], the capitals respectively of the Ingauni and the Intemelii; and in the mountains near Marseilles was a sea-going people whom Caesar (B. C. 1. 57) calls the Albici. In these names Albium and Albici the reader will hardly fail to recognize the same root as in the Celtic name Alban.

Now according to Mela (2. 5) Hercules fought with Albion and Bergion[3], the sons of Neptune, on the stony plain[4] which lies between Marseilles and the Rhone. As Albion was a son of the Ocean-God, and *ex vi termini* a mountaineer, there can be little doubt that he was intended to represent the sea-faring Albici, who dwelt in the mountains near Marseilles, and some battle between this latter people and the Phoenicians, no doubt, gave rise to the mythus. It is probable that the mythical name of these Ligurian mountaineers was transferred by the Greeks of Marseilles to the Ligurian colonists in Britain, and in due course came to designate the country.

What tribes of the Gaulish Brython joined in the immigration to the island is a question difficult to answer. They were followed at no distant date by the same Belgae who had already driven them from Gaul, and their tribal names

[1] In Irish, *Alba*, gen. *Alban*, is the name generally given to the Highlands; but the word Alban is also found used as a nominative.

[2] Cf. Alba Fucentis and Alba Longa in Latium; Alba Docilia and Alba Pompeia in Liguria; Alba Helviorum, east of the Cévennes in Gaul. 'Above the Salyes, the Albieis, and the Albioikoi, and the Vocontii.' Strabo 4. 6. 4, p. 203.

[3] 'Contra Albiona et Bergion.' V. Bergistani / Vergunni / Vergium } Forcellini.

According to the Schol. on Lycophron 648 the brother of Albion was called Ligys. Apollodorus (2. 5. 10) calls him Dercynus.

[4] This stony plain is called *Crau*, and the stony desert lying east of the Lejah is called El Kra; see vol. i. p. 287.

were probably for the most part lost amongst those of their Belgic conquerors. Only two or three of these names appear to have come down to us. In the south-eastern corner of Yorkshire were a people called the Parisi, who were no doubt an offset of the continental tribe who afterwards gave name to Paris. How the British Parisi obtained their lands, whether by the sword or by the permission of the Brigantes we do not know; but when we remember how powerful was the tribe within whose borders they settled, we may be inclined to consider the settlement a peaceful one. The next settlement we have to consider was probably of a different character. Among the tribes who deserted Cassivellaunus and submitted to Caesar (B. G. 5. 21) were the Cenimagni. When we remember how often these proper names were blundered by the copyists we shall probably recognise in Cenimagni the name of the Gallic tribe of the Cenomanni living north of the Loire in the old diocese of le Mans, who sent out a body of emigrants to join in the Gallic invasion of Italy. In the Notitia, le Mans has the name of Cenomani given to it, and was certainly the capital of the people from whom it derived its name. Cen-o-mani must have been a compound word, and the latter element appears to have been the original name of the people, for Mans must have been derived from Mani, after the analogy of Rheims from Rhemi, Amiens from Ambiani, &c. That this name of Man-i or *Man*, to give it its Celtic form, was borne by the British tribe who are generally called the Cornavii, may be inferred among other reasons from the topography of the district. On the borders of this district, at its two principal outlets, we find the two Manchesters, the Manduessed-um and Mancunium of the Itinerary. We have already dwelt on the frequent conversion of the Celtic *n* into *nd*, particularly before a vowel, and therefore need hardly hesitate to consider *Mand* as another form of Man.

* * * * * *

The Galedin are said to have been diiven from the

land of Pwyl by an inundation of the sea[1]. There have been many attempts made to explain the meaning of this name Pwyl, but none that are satisfactory. It seems to have been overlooked that in the Netherlands, from which the Galedin in all probability came, *peel* is a common name for a marshy district. In Hondius' Atlas we find near the Maes in the plan of Bolduc (No. 56) 'Locus paludosus die Peel nuncupatus'; and in Brabant (No. 53) 'Die Peel locus paludosus'; and again in Guelderland (No. 59) 'die Peel.' Possibly this may be the same word as our *Pill*, which in the west of England is used to designate an inlet of the sea, generally a shallow and marshy one. If Peel and Pill be words of Celtic origin they may have given a name to the country whence the Galedin emigrated, and Pwyl may be merely a varied form of the Welsh *Pwll*, a pool. The Galedin are said to have come to the Isle of Wight in open boats, which seems almost necessarily to exclude the idea of a lengthened passage, though these frail conveyances might serve to convey the fugitives from the Netherlands to the island. As the inhabitants of Vectis were certainly Belgae, it follows that the Galedin whom the Triads represent as the men who colonized the land must have been a Belgic people. Other considerations lead us to the same conclusion. It seems clear[2] that Arllechwedd Galedin, i.e. Arllechwedd of the Galedin, was the valley south of Bath, through which the Fosse ran to Ilchester, and this valley was certainly part of the district which Ptolemy assigned to the Belgae. The location of the Galedin in this neighbourhood is countenanced by the Triad which mentions the three British emigrations to the continent. One of these migrations is said to have proceeded from Arllechwedd of the Galedin. Myvyrian Archaeology, 2. 60.

* * * * * *

[1] Three Tribes of Refuge that came to Ynys Prydain and in the peace and with the leave of the race of the Cymry did they come, without weapon, without attack; the first was the tribe of Celyddon in the North; the second was the Gal-wyddyl, and in Alban they are; the third the men of Galedin who came in bare ships to the isle of Gwyth when their country was drowned; see Myv. Arch. 2. 58.

[2] See above, vol. i. p. 403.

Ireland is called Iverna by Mela, Juverna by Juvenal, Hibernia by Pliny and Tacitus, and Iouernia by Ptolemy. The 'Orphic' poem on the Argonauts contains the phrase 'the Iernian islands'; the author of the Kosmos calls the island Iernē, and Diodorus calls it Iris. As the Greek language habitually rejects the *w*, it is possible that the Greek names Iernē and Iri-s may be varied forms of the Latin Ivern-a, &c.; and Ptolemy's Iouernia may have originated in an attempt to render the proper pronunciation somewhat more correctly than ordinary Greek usage would permit. The modern Irish, like the Greek, dislikes the *w*, and those who speak that language call their country Eire, gen. Eirinn. In some cases we find Erinn used as a nominative, and even Erind, as in the phrase 'Erind, Manaend acus Albain,' denoting the three Gaelic districts,—Ireland, Man, and the Scotch Highlands. Our ancestors copied the Irish pronunciation and called their country Ira land—the land, it would seem, of the Iras or Ire; for Ira is evidently a genitive case plural, and either of these forms would be in accordance with Anglo-Saxon usage.

Whether Iwerddon, the Welsh name for Ireland, has any connexion with the classical name Iverna, may be doubted. Welsh scholars generally connect it with the Welsh *gwyrdd*, green, which there can be little doubt is the same word as the Latin *virid-is*.

St. Patrick has left two works behind him, the Confessio and his Epistle to Coroticus. Ussher, and every other competent scholar who has examined the subject, admits their genuineness. The earliest copy of the Confessio now extant is found in 'the Book of Armagh,' a MS. which cannot have been transcribed much later than the year 800. The copy purports to have been written from 'a volume which Patrick wrote with his own hand,' and the narrative proceeds throughout in the first person—'I Patrick did so and so.' There are frequent references to the obscurities of the original, which may have been occasioned either by the age of the MS. or the difficulties of the style. The Latin is

singularly rude, such as we might expect would be used by a man imperfectly educated, as Patrick seems to have been; the quotations from Scripture belong to Latin versions anterior to the Vulgate; and we have the plural form Britanniae used for Britain. All the circumstances in short connected with the MS. are consistent with the supposition that it is a work of the fifth century. Later editions of the Confessio contain passages which are not found in this early copy, and it has been disputed whether these passages be interpolations, or parts of the original work of which the early copy must in that case be considered as an abridgement. It may be safer not to found any speculations on these passages, at least not without giving due notice to the reader.

From this 'Confessio' of Patrick it is clear that in the early half of the fifth century, when he flourished, there was a dominant race in Ireland called the Scoti, distinct from the great body of the Irish people, who were styled the Hiberiones. From the Irish Annals we learn that the ruling family at that time were the O'Neal's, or, to give them their Irish title, the Hy Nial, i.e. the descendants of the celebrated Nial naoi-giallach, or Neal of the nine hostages. The same eventful period that saw the departure of the Romans from Britain and the arrival of our ancestors, must have witnessed the ascendancy of the Hy Nial in Ireland, the introduction of Christianity by Patrick, and the final establishment of the Scoti in that country. Here then we have something like a standing-point whence we may venture to look back upon the troubled waters of Irish history. Let us first enquire who were these Scoti round whose name in ancient times gathered such a cloud of fable, and whose origin and history have been, even in our own days, the occasion of so much fierce and bitter controversy. The enquiry demands some moral courage on the part of those who undertake it, but it stands directly in our way and cannot be evaded.

It has been supposed that the name Eire or Erinn was

connected with the Irish word *iar*, west. If Erin be a varied form of Ivern-a or Hibern-ia, then, on this supposition, there must be a labial or some representative of the *v* latent in *iar*. O'Reilly defines the Irish adverb *iar* to mean 'back, backwards, to the west.' The secondary meaning, *west*, seems to have originated in an assumption which has in other languages determined the names of the cardinal points. The speaker is supposed to face the east, when his right side will indicate the south, his left the north, his front the east, and the quarter behind him the west. Now the Irish lexicographers tell us that the preposition *iar* is merely another form of *air*, upon, which is clearly the Welsh *ar*. But this Celtic preposition has been very commonly identified with the Greek preposition *huper*, upon, and with our English *over*. If this be sound philology there *is* a consonantal element latent in the adverb *iar*, west, and answering to the first consonant in Ivern-a and Hibern-ia; and consequently these latter terms may be derivatives of *iar*, and signify the western country.

[*Nennius on the primitive populations of Ireland.*]

'Long afterwards came the Scots from the parts of Spain; and first came Partholomeus with a thousand persons, men and women, and they increased to four thousand, and a great mortality overtook them and they all died in one week, so that not one of them remained. Secondly came to Hibernia, Nimech, son of a certain Agamemnon, who is said to have sailed on the sea for a whole year and a half, and he afterwards reached a port in Hibernia with shattered vessels, and remained there many years, and again returned by ship to Spain with his people. Then came three sons of a warrior (*militis*) of Spain with thirty keels, having in each keel thirty men with their wives, and they remained there the space of one year, and afterwards there appeared to them a tower of glass in the midst of the sea, and they saw as it had been men on the tower, and when they tried to speak to them they answered nothing. And for a whole

year they made preparations for an attack on the tower with all their keels and with all their women, one vessel excepted, which had been broken up in the wreck, in which were thirty men and as many women. But the other vessels sailed to attack the tower, and as all were landing on the shore that was around the tower the sea covered them and they were drowned.

'But from the crew of that keel which had been broken by the wreck and remained behind, the whole of Hibernia was peopled even to this day. Afterwards they came by degrees from the parts of Spain and occupied many districts in Britannia. Last of all came Clamhoctor[1], and dwelt there with all his tribe, which remains to this day. Historeth, son of Istorinus, with his people, occupied Dalrieta; Builc with his people occupied the island Eubonia and other surrounding districts; the sons of Liethan (? Lluoedd Ganfal)[2] took possession of the country of the Dimecti and other districts, Guoher and Cetgueli, till they were expelled by Cuneda and his sons from all the British districts.

'If any here would know at what time Hibernia was uninhabited and waste, this was the information the learned among the Scots gave me (sic mihi peritissimi Scottorum nuntiaverunt[3]). When the sons of Israhel passed through the Red Sea the Egyptians followed them and were drowned, as is read in the Law. But there was among the Egyptians a nobleman from Scythia with a great retinue, who had been before driven from his kingdom, and was there when the Egyptians were drowned, and who did not go out to pursue the people of God. But they who survived took counsel and expelled him, lest he should overspread their country, as their princes were drowned in the Red Sea But he after his expulsion wandered through Africa for forty-two years and came with his people to the altars of the Philistines, and they passed through the lake of the salterns and be-

[1] Another reading is Damhoctor. [2] [See Myv. Arch. 2. 58.]

[3] From the other copies of Nennius it is clear that this sentence belongs to what follows, and not to what precedes.

tween Rusicada and the mountainous parts of Syria and through the river Malua, and traversed Maritana (Mauritania), and sailed over the Mediterranean to the Columns of Hercules and came as far as Spain, and there dwelt many years. And they increased and were multiplied, and their people was greatly multiplied. Afterwards they came to Hibernia, a thousand and two years after the Egyptians were drowned in the Red Sea, &c. The Britons came to Britain in the third age of the world, and the Scots got possession of Hibernia in the fourth[1].'

Such is the Irish story, as it has come down to us in its simplest and perhaps its earliest form. What is the meaning of the riddle?

It is clear from the preceding extract, and from other notices of early Irish history, that no circumstance connected with that history was more deeply impressed in the minds of Irishmen than the early connexion of their country with Spain. We might expect this would be the case. For upwards of a thousand years Cadiz had been the great centre whence commerce and civilization spread over the far west of Europe. The Irish harbours were situated conveniently for its traders, and from these Phoenician traders the ancients no doubt obtained that knowledge of the geography of Ireland which is shown so conspicuously in Ptolemy's Geography. Tacitus tells us (if we follow the usual reading of Agric. 24) that its harbours were better known to the merchant than those of Britain, and there certainly is reason to believe that its commerce was developed at an earlier period than that of the sister-island. But there were other ties than those of commerce which may have connected Ireland with Spain. Some of the earliest colonists of Ireland were probably akin to those who colonized the western coasts of the Peninsula. The Irish Brigantes, as we may reasonably infer, were connected with the tribe of the same name in Spain, and may possibly

[1] Hist. Nennii, capp. 7–10.

have been settled in that country before they passed over to Ireland.

Another impression seems to have been no less general among the early Irish, viz. that the names Scotti and Scythae were mere varieties of the same word, and consequently that the Scots were Scythians in origin. We may perhaps treat this blunder with a little indulgence when we remember that in the middle ages there was a general tendency to narrow the broad vowel of the word Scot—that word in Irish MSS. taking the form of Scuite, and the adjective, which answers to the modern word Scottish, taking in Anglo-Saxon the form of Scyttisc. There is, however, no reason for believing that there were Skuthai in Spain; and Strabo's use of the word Keltoskuthai (11. 6. 2), which has been relied upon to prove the contrary, is explained by him in a way which directly negatives the inference drawn from it. According to Strabo, the old Greeks called all the Southern races Aithiopes, and all the Northern Skuthai or Nomades; but when they became better acquainted with the different races, and therefore better able to make distinctions, they called the races living to the west 'Keltoi or Ibēres, or mixing the two names, Keltibēres or Keltoskuthai.' Here the name Keltoskuthai indicates no ethnological connexion between the Skuthai and the Spaniards, but is used merely to distinguish the Keltoi from the great body of the nomadic races who had hitherto been known by the name of Skuthai. I allude to this passage in Strabo, because it has misled not a few of our modern speculators. Niebuhr is of the number. There is no ground for supposing that the passage I have referred to was known to the monks whose speculations we are criticizing.

Starting from the two hypotheses that the Scots were descended from the Scythae, and that they came to Ireland from Spain, 'the learned among the Scots' easily arrived at the wonderful story they told to Nennius. In order to reach Spain from their native seats in Asia, the Scythae must have either sailed along the Mediterranean or jour-

neyed through the countries lying north or south of it. Different routes are followed in different versions of the story, but the version we have quoted from, and which was probably one of the earliest, carried the Scots along the shores of north Africa. The Bible furnished most of the incidents relating to Egypt, and some classical geography the names of the places met with on the journey. The places may still be, for the most part, recognized. The altars of the Philistine were the altars of the Philaeni, Rusicada was Rusicade, Malua Mulucha, and Maritana Mauritania. 'The mountainous parts of Syria' seem to have originated in some blunder, and in certain MSS. we have 'the mountains of Azara.' I am unable to explain either of the readings.

According to a marginal note which is found in certain copies of Nennius, the Scythian prince had married a daughter of Pharaoh before he was expelled from Egypt. Her name was Scotta, and from her the Scots obtained their name. This Egyptian marriage is the chief incident in the later versions of the story, and so fondly do Irishmen cling to the honour of this great alliance, that grave historians actually contrive to bring into connexion the early Irish and Egyptian histories. Tighernach, Abbot of Clonmacnoise, whose annals, written in the eleventh century, are a work of real merit, commences them as follows: 'In the eighteenth year of Ptolemaeus began to reign in Eamain (i.e. in Eamania, the palace of Ulster) Cimbaoth, son of Fintain, &c.;' and he actually parades the different kings of Eamania, each in company with the contemporary Ptolemy. The feeling which seems to have prompted the references to the Egyptian Ptolemies may perhaps help us to explain one portion of these fables. The first expedition, we are told by Nennius, was made under the conduct of Partholomeus, or, as the name is written in many of the MSS., Bartholomeus. This name, as Jerome (Adv. Ruff. I. 5) had told his readers, signified the son of Ptolemy, and I cannot help suspecting that the significance of the name

recommended it to the notice of our Irish legendaries, and that the son of the Egyptian Ptolemy was merely a second edition of 'the nobleman from Scythia' who was son-in-law to the Egyptian Pharaoh[1].

Nimech, son of Agamemnon, makes his appearance in other MSS. as Nimeth son of Agnomen. The Irish *Neimeadh* signifies a poem, and Ogaman[2], we are told by some Irish antiquaries, was the first Eiremonian king of Ulster. It would really seem that Nennius, or rather the compiler he was copying from, is here attempting something like criticism, and wishes to represent the attack on the tower and the marvellous stories that follow as mere tales told by the Ulster bards; while the historical notices that follow the introduction of the name Historeth, son of Istorinus, were real history, taken from trustworthy sources. We shall see as we advance that these notices are of real interest and value. The sons of the warrior (miles) who came from Spain, are no other than the sons of 'Mileadh,' in other words the renowned Milesians, of whom we have all heard so much. Such are the foundations of Irish early history when we come to analyze them!

The earliest mention of the Picti occurs in the panegyric pronounced by Eumenius at Treves before Constantius in the year 296. 'But in that age (i. e. the times of Julius Caesar) Britain was not provided with any ships for a naval war, and the Roman state having learnt experience from the Punic and Asiatic wars, and the later war against the Pirates, and the still later one against Mithridates, was not more powerful on land than on sea. Moreover the nation was rude, and the Britons were only accustomed

[1] Zeuss, following Keller (Comm. de Cod. Hib. in Helvetia servatis), supposes that the Irish fables about Egypt indicate an early intercourse between the two countries. No such intercourse has been proved, and that it ever existed, is most improbable. These vague and random guesses are characteristic of continental scholarship. The mischief they have done to history during the last fifty years is incalculably great.

[2] Lynch, Cambr. Ever. I. 473. n. x. The same author gives us Numedh as the name of one of the Irish kings. Ib.

to have for enemies the Picti and the Hiberni; they were still half-naked men, and easily yielded to the arms and standards of the Romans, so that in that expedition Caesar had little more to boast of than of his having sailed upon the Ocean[1].' The orator then contrasts the difficulties which his patron Constantius had to encounter in his invasion of the island.

Eumenius could know nothing of the history of Britain before the time of Julius Caesar, and his mention of the Picti and Hiberni as the enemies of the Britons at that early period must have been a mere piece of rhetoric. But we may gather that in his time, to wit at the close of the third century, these two races were looked upon as the old hereditary enemies of the British provincials, and consequently that their first inroads into Britain dated from an early period.

Eumenius mentions the Picti a second time in the panegyric delivered at the same place before Constantinus in the year 310. 'Time would fail me ere my speech were ended, were I to recount even thus briefly all the deeds of thy father (Constantius). That last expedition of his had not for its object Britannic trophies as is commonly thought, but it was at the call of the gods that he proceeded to the utmost limits of the earth. For after so many and so great achievements, he was not ambitious of acquiring—I do not say the woods and the marshes of the Caledones and the other Picti but—the neighbouring Hybernia, the furthest Thule, nor even the Isles of the Blest, if any such there be[2],' &c.

It will be observed that Eumenius here includes the Caledones among 'the other Picti.' Ammianus Marcellinus (27. 8. 5), who wrote some fifty or sixty years after this panegyric was delivered, informs us that the Picti were divided into two tribes, the Dicalidonae and the Vecturiones. Ptolemy calls the northern ocean 'ōkeanos douēkalēdonios'; and it has been conjectured that the first element of the

[1] Eumenii Panegyric. 4. 11. [2] Ib. 6. 7.

compounds, Dicalidonae and Douēkalēdonios, represented the Welsh *du*, Irish *dubh*, black. On this hypothesis the Dicaledon-es would mean the men of the di-caledon or black forest—meaning, we may presume, the great forest which once spread from Angus northwards, nearly to the Murray Frith.

There can be little doubt that Claudian considered the name of Picti to mean *the painted men*. In his poem on the third consulship of Honorius (A. D. 396) he tells us, when speaking of the elder Theodosius,

> 'He subdued the agile Mauri, and those called by no false name the Picti,
> And pursuing the Scot with wide-wandering sword
> Cleft with audacious oars the Hyperborean waves;'

and when describing the legions that came to the assistance of Stilicho in the Getic war (De Bello Get. 416):—

> 'There came the legion opposed to the remote Britons,
> That curbs the fierce Scot, and scans the pale figures,
> Marked with the iron, as the Pict is dying [1].'

[1] Again in the poem on the Fourth Consulship of Honorius (A.D. 398), l. 26:—

> ''Twas he (i.e. the older Theodosius) who pitched his camp amid the Caledonian frosts,
> Who helmeted bore the Southern mid-heat of Libya,
> Terrible to the Moor and conqueror of the British shore,
> And devastator alike of the North and of the South;
> What avails the eternal rigour of the climate, what avail the constellations
> And the unknown sea? The Orcades were moistened with the blood
> Of the routed Saxon; Thule steeped with the blood of the Picti,
> The wintry Ierne wept the slaughtered heaps of the Scoti.'

In his poem on Stilicho's First Consulship (A.D. 400) he introduces Britannia as the spokeswoman:—

> 'Me also, says she, while perishing beneath the neighbour-races
> Me Stilicho protected—when the Scot raised up the whole of Ierne,
> And the sea foamed beneath the accursed rowers—
> By his care 'twas brought to pass that I should not fear
> The Scottish weapons, nor tremble at the Picts,
> Nor look out on all my coast for the Saxon coming with uncertain winds' (lib. 2. v. 250).

In his poem 'in Eutropium' he introduces Rome as addressing Honorius (I. 391):—

> 'what I can do with thee for my prince
> 'Facts not long past teach us: for, the Saxon being subdued
> The sea is calmer, and Britain safe now the Pict is crushed (fracto).'

On the strength of these passages some writers, and among them Walter Scott, have concluded that the name of Picti was given by the Romanized Britons to such of their countrymen as retained the old custom of painting themselves. It is generally supposed that Isidorus wished to express the same opinion in the passage (Origines, 9. 2), 'The *Scoti* derive their name in their vernacular from their painted body, inasmuch as they are marked by means of iron needles, and a dark pigment with the prints of various figures,' for it can hardly be doubted that we ought to read *Picti* instead of Scoti; and indeed Innes, when he quotes the passage, actually writes *Picti*, though he does not give us his authority for this reading. Still, notwithstanding the general reception of this etymology of the name, there are weighty reasons which may well make us hesitate before we adopt it.

Vegetius, writing in the latter half of the fourth century, makes mention of certain scout-boats 'which the Britanni call Pictae. By these it is customary to make surprisals of the enemy's vessels, and to intercept their supplies, and by a careful look-out to discover their approach and object. But lest these scout-boats should be betrayed by their white hue, the sails and ropes are dyed of an azure colour resembling the waves of the sea, and even the wax with which it is customary to besmear the vessels is stained. The sailors also or soldiers wear blue clothes, so that not only by night, but also by day, they may the more easily escape notice when on the look out[1].'

Here *Pictae* can hardly mean the 'painted ships,' for Vegetius seems clearly to refer to it as a British word, and the Latin word *pictus* has no correlative in the Celtic language. The following extracts from Owen Pughe's Welsh Dictionary may suggest a different etymology:—

'*Paith*, sm. plur. *peithion*, an opening, a straightforward course; a glance; a prospect, a scene.

'*Peithas*, sf., a scout, a sort of scout-boat which, with the sails, used to be all of a blue colour, to prevent a discovery.

[1] De Re Mil. 4. 37.

'*Peithawd*, sm., the act of making clear or open, a laying waste, a scouting.
'*Peithi*, s. pl. aggr., those that are out or exposed, the people of the open plain; the people of the waste or desert, also those that scout; those who lay waste; the Picts.'

Now, in the combination *ct* the modern Welsh drops the guttural; thus *Vectis*, the Isle of Wight, is in modern Welsh *Gwyth*; the Latin *fact-um*, a fact, has become *ffaith*; *fructus*, fruit, *ffrwyth*; *lac*, *lact-is*, milk, is represented by *llaeth*, and so forth. Hence there is no philological difficulty in the way of our connecting the *Peithas* and *Peithi* of Owen Pughe's Dictionary with the *Pictae* of Vegetius and the *Picti* of the Latin historians. Both the latter terms, it would seem, signified the scouters, or, to use a term which American warfare has made but too familiar to us, 'the raiders.'

Alcuin (De Sanct. Ebor. Eccl. v. 65) and Paulus Diaconus call the Pict *Picto*, and in the Book of Armagh[1] the Picts are called *Pictavi*. If the scholars of the eighth century were justified in their application of these terms, and Pictones, Pictavi, and Picti were really connected words, then Picti could not have meant the painted men, for Pictones was a name known as early as the times of Caesar, and most certainly never had that meaning. It probably signified a predatory people, a race of freebooters.

Saxo Grammaticus (Hist. Dan. ix.) calls Pictland *Petia*; Pentland Frith was formerly called *Pit*land Frith; and the '*Peti* and Pape,' whom the Northmen[2] found in the Orkneys when they conquered these islands, are generally supposed to have been the Irish priests and the Pictish inhabitants whom they had converted. The Anglo-Saxon name for this people was *Pyhtas*, and the term *Pights* was used in English literature up to within a comparatively late period. The term Picts was introduced into our language by bookmen, and is suggestive of a false etymology. Though, generally speaking, it is well to follow

[1] See Todd's Life of St. Patrick, 289 n.
[2] Orkneyinga Saga, p. 550.

the prevalent usage, yet in this case I think some advantage would result from reviving the old form of the word—Pights. The several terms, Latin *Picti*, Welsh *Peithi*, Anglo-Saxon *Pyhtas*, and Old English *Pights*, run parallel to the Latin *Vectis*, Welsh *Gwyth*, Anglo-Saxon *Wiht*, and English *Wight*. The Irish had amongst them to a comparatively late period a tribe of painted men, whom they called Cruithne, and their country *cruithin tuath*, or the Cruithin country. In Adamnan's Life of Columba (1. 7) they are called Cruithnii, and there is little doubt that the name was derived from the Irish *cruth*, a form or figure. To suppose, as Ritson has done, that it was derived from 'Cruidne,' who figures in Innes' Chronicle as the Father of the Picti would be as absurd as to derive the name of Britain from Brutus. Cruidne is clearly nothing more than the eponym of the race.

All the Irish authorities acknowledge not only that the Pictish list of kings is correct, but also that the arrival of the Picts was contemporaneous with that of the Scots, and that their wives were Scots[1].

* * * * * *

The settlement of the Gwyddel Ffichti in Galloway is one of the most obscure events in British history[2]. That the Irish Cruithne were endeavouring to establish themselves on the opposite coast of Britain towards the close of the seventh century we learn from the Ulster annals. In the year 681 Catusach king of the Cruithne was slain by the Britons at Magh Lena[3] (Chalmers, I. 458), in Ayrshire, and in 702 was the battle of Cuilin-plain[4], between the Ulstermen and the Britons 'in Airdo of the sons of Necdaig' [or Ecdach;

[1] Petrie's Tara, Irish Trans., A.D. 1837, p. 154.

[2] 'Three tribes of invasion that came to Ynis Prydain and have never gone out of it; the first were the Corraniaid who came from the land of the Pwyl; the second the Gwyddyl Ffichti who came into the Alban by way of Mor Llychlyn; the third, the Saeson. Truly the Corraniaid are about the river Hymyr and the shore of Mor Tawch; and in the Alban are the Gwyddyl Ffichti on the shore of Mor Llychlyn.' Myv. Arch. 2. 58.

[3] O'Conor's Script. Rer. Hyb. 4. 62. [4] Ib. p. 68.

Ard-Uaneahach]. But the Gwyddel Ffichti must have gained a footing in Galloway at an earlier date. According to the Iolo MSS., p. 109, 'Caw of Brydyn, lord of Cwm Cawlwyd,' was driven from his country by the Gwyddyl Ffichti, and had lands given him in Wales by Arthur and Maelgwn. This Caw was the head of one of the three 'holy families,' as we learn from the Triads, and Prydyn, which is evidently a mere dialectical variation of Prydain[1], is generally used in Welsh MSS. to denote north Britain (vide Irish Nennius, p. 128, n.). Caw is evidently the same individual who figures so prominently in the Life of Gildas—in some copies as Kan, in others as 'Nan, king of Scotia,' or as 'Navus, king of the Picti.' Every one that has looked into a medieval MS. knows how easily a *u* might be taken for an *n*, and Kau be corrupted into Kan. Kan and Nan are names otherwise unknown to Welsh legend, and are only explicable on the supposition that they both represent an earlier reading Kau[2]. According to this Welsh legend the British Picti must have been driven from Galloway early in the sixth century.

[1] See above, p. 8.

[2] In the Life of Gildas (p. xxxi.), published by the Hist. Society, Mr. Stevenson printed the name as he found it in his MS., viz. Nau. For this he was severely taken to task by Mr. Thomas Wright, who maintained with much learning that the proper reading is Kan! Biog. Brit. Lit. I. 115.

CHAPTER II.

British seas, estuaries, tidal currents, &c. — The adjacent islands, Orch, Gwyth and Menaw, &c. — The peninsular districts, Cornwall, &c. — The low-lying districts, Devon, &c. — The Andred, Argoed, and other woodlands; the champaigns, plains, &c.; the mountain-ranges, declivities, &c. — British districts as recognized in Welsh medieval geography. — Rheged, Dyfed, Gwynedd, Teyrnlwg, Deifr and Bryneich, Calchfynydd, Powys, Arllechwedd Galedin, &c.; meaning of the names, so far as they depend on the physical peculiarities of the country. — The Dourotriges or inhabitants of Dorset. — The Damnonioi in Devon and Cornwall; the Damnioi in Clydesdale. — Etymology of these names. — Welsh topography from the Iolo MSS. — Geographical etymologies of Caerloyw, Morganwg, Rheged, Cantrev, Ordwgv, Fferyllwg. — Sources whence these materials were drawn. — *Gwy* Welsh, *ea* Anglo-Saxon termination of river-names. — Compounds with affix *dur* have the same meaning; they are of late formation. — Durocornovio, Durolevo, Divodurum, &c.

British roads before the Roman occupation. — The Icknield Way. — Avoided rivers and forests. — Dangers of the Highways. — Physical features of Northern England. — The Middle Ridge; Chiltern and Cotswold ranges. — The Icknield Way superseded by the Roman Fosse.

Leinster the central district of Ireland. — Eiscir Riada one of the Irish highways. — Its terminus at Tara.

Cunobelinus; his name blundered by the early historians; the limits of his territory. — The Severn and Savernake the boundary river and forest.

The Vergivian Ocean in the south of Ireland is called by Ptolemy 'ōkeanos Ouiergiouios,' and by Marcian in one place 'ōkeanos Ouergouios,' and in another place 'ōkeanos Euorkonios.' The name seems to be Celtic, and may be connected with the Manx *faarkey* and Irish *fearg*, the sea.

The phenomena of the tides and of the inshore currents seem to have strongly impressed the imagination of the ancient Welshmen. The 'bore' of the Severn was looked upon as one of 'the wonders of Britain.' It was known as, Dou-rig-habren, i. e. the two kings of Severn. 'When

the sea at the proper appointed season (*ad sissam*) is poured into the mouth of the Severn, two heaps of foam are separately gathered up and fight with each other like rams, and each advances to the other, and they dash one against the other. And again one recedes from the other, and again they advance from the same particular heap spread over the whole surface of the sea. In each recurring season (*sissa*) have they done this from the beginning of the world to the present time' (Nennius, de Mirab. c. 72). In a like spirit of exaggeration Bede refers to the conflicting tides of the Solent (vide vol. i. p. 387). Now the Breton *chal* means the rising tide, and in Breton the initial *ch* is pronounced like our *sh*, and very commonly interchanges with *s*—*chach*, *chēlaoui*, *chétu*, *chifern*, &c., being also both spelt and pronounced *sach*, *sēlaoui*, *sétu*, *sifern*, &c. There can be little doubt therefore that the first syllable in *Solvente* was the same word as the Breton *chal*, and that it signified the incoming tide; and as the Welsh *gwant* signifies a butt, we obtain by composition *sol-want*, the butting or conflict of the tides. This is evidently Bede's *solvente*, the final *e* being the feminine ending of the Anglo-Saxon, which is generally affixed to names of places when adopted into that language.

The first element of the name Sol-ent is also found in Sol-way. Fordun, in the Scoti-chronicon (2. 1), calls the Cumberland Esk Scottiswath and Sulwath. *Wath* is the north-country name for a ford, and the reference is no doubt to the well-known ford between Boulness and Arran, the estuary and its affluent taking their name from this important passage, just as some rivers take their names from their wells—Irwell, Cherwell, &c.; and others from their washes, as Erwash.

The dangers that attend the incoming tide in the Solway are well known; as a Cumbrian once said to me, 'it comes in breast-high, and as fast as a horse can gallop.' Now the Breton *gwév* means a ford, and as the Breton *gw* often interchanges with *go* we get *sul-gwev* or *sul-gow* as an

exact equivalent for sul-wath—meaning, in short, the ford of the *sul* or incoming tide, or, to speak more accurately in accordance with fact, the ford exposed to the sul or incoming tide. The modern name Solway is, I believe, not the old Celtic name *sul-gwev*, but a corruption of Sulwath[1], just as the north-country *unco'*, *mou'*, *wi'*, &c., are corruptions of uncouth, mouth, with, &c. Sulwath is one of those hybrid compounds, half Celtic, half English, which are not unfrequently met with in districts where, as in Cumberland, Welshmen and Englishmen have been long living in close neighbourhood. Selgovae meant, of course, the men of the Selgov.

Buchan Ness is the easternmost point of North Britain. A mile or two south of the Ness the ironbound coast is rent into chasms and fissures, amid which the swell of the German Ocean breaks with terrific violence. The 'Bullers of Buchan,' the Taizalon of Ptolemy, are the most striking natural feature of the district, and probably gave a name to the Texali, whom all our geographers locate in this part of Britain.

'Britain and the three islands,' and 'the three islands Orc, Gwyth, and Menaw,' are phrases which frequently occur in Welsh literature. Orc in Anglo-Saxon was converted, according to a law which prevails in that language, into a feminine substantive orce, gen. orcan; and orcan ig, i. e. the isle of Orce, is evidently the origin of our modern term Orkney—our ancestors, like the Welsh, referring to the Orkneys as if they formed a single island. Gwyth is the Isle of Wight, and Menaw the Isle of Man. There can be little doubt that Orc is a mere variation of the Welsh *orch*, that which is extreme, a limit, &c. Diodorus (5. 21) calls the extreme cape of Scotland (Duncansby Head) by the name of Orcas; and Pomponius Mela, who flourished in

[1] Silloth, the name of a village at the mouth of the estuary—now a rising watering-place—is a mere corruption of Sulwath. It has preserved the final consonant lost in Solway. Double terms arising from a like inconsistency of usage are to be found in all parts of England.

the time of Claudius, calls the Orkneys Orcades. His use of the plural number seems to show that in his day the Romans had obtained some knowledge of the geography of these islands; and if a compiler like Orosius can be trusted when he states that Claudius, meaning of course his officers, added these islands to the empire, we might expect such would be the case. Menaw derived its name from the tribe that colonized it, and therefore we shall postpone any inquiry into its etymology till we come to treat of the immigrating tribes. With respect to Gwyth, Nennius (c. 2) mentions as one of the three islands '*With*, which the Britons call Gueid or Guith, and which in Latin may be rendered divortium.' *With* was evidently intended for the Anglo-Saxon name of the island, and therefore would have been more correctly *Wiht*, a form which is actually found in some of the MSS. The Latin word *divortium* means a turning, a passage, and the Welsh *gwyth* a channel. Nennius evidently supposed the island to derive its name from the passage which divided it from the mainland, and in Welsh it is called indifferently Gwyth and *ynys yr wyth*, the island of the channel. In early topography we often find the name of a striking natural object transferred to some place in its neighbourhood. The Isle of Wight means properly the isle of the Channel.

The Breton *korn* means an angle, a corner, and its derivative *Kerneo* is the name given to a certain Breton district which forms the south-western corner of Brittany. The district was known from the seventh century downwards by the name of Cornu-Galliae[1], the first part of which is, I believe, not the Latin *cornu*, but merely a bastard Latinism for Kerneo. *Cernyw*, which is evidently the same word as Kerneo, is the name the Welsh give to Cornwall;

[1] Courson, Essai sur la Bretagne, p. 35. The phrase Cornu Galliae seems to have been sometimes used to designate the whole peninsula of Britanny. In this sense it is used by W. Malmesb. Gesta Regum, 2. 134, who also uses the name Curwala, which must be the same name as our Corn-wealh, for Brittany, 2. 110.

and it is the original of the Latin phrase Cornubia, which was used by the Welshman Asser as early as the ninth century. Our ancestors called the county indifferently Cornewalas and Cornewale.

'Anglia habet in longitudine 800 miliaria a loco Penwith-stert vocato, qui situs est, &c., in *Cornewalas*, usque ad Cathenes, &c.' Sim. of Durham (Surtees ed.), App. 1, p. 220.

'Execeastre quam Leofricus episcopus, &c., de duobus episcopatubus in Cornewale, &c., unam fecit.' Ib.

The phrases Cornewalas and Cornewale properly mean the Weals or Welshmen of Corn, but according to Anglo-Saxon usage were also used to designate the country. They are represented respectively by the French Cornuailles and Cornuaille, and it is noticeable as showing how curiously languages interpenetrate and corrupt each other, that Frenchmen apply both these names to the Breton district known as Kerneo, while some of our countrymen have given to Cornwall the name of Cornugallia—

'Cornubia quae nunc Cornugallia dicitur.' Flor. Wig. App.

Here we have Frenchmen using English names to denote a Breton locality, and Englishmen giving a French name to an English county. The name Cornwall is a mere corruption of Cornewale.

If the above reasoning be sound, it follows that Cornwall must at one time have borne the name of Corn, and that too subsequently to the arrival of our ancestors in this country. There are, I think, traces of such an usage in the name of Iddawg Corn Prydain, the traitor whose meeting with Medrawd before the battle of Camlan is commemorated in the Triads (20. 21). Iddawg Corn Prydain must have meant Iddawg of Corn Prydain, i. e. the Corn of Britain; and this latter name was in all probability used as a means of distinguishing the British peninsula from the Kerneo of Brittany, or, as it was otherwise called, the Cornu Galliae. As ages passed away these distinctions

were forgotten, and there resulted that confusion of terms which has so much bewildered our historical criticism.

The capital of the Cornavii was Deva, i. e. Chester. It lay at the root of a tongue of land stretching seawards between the Mersey and the estuary of the Dee, and known to the Anglo-Saxons as Wyr-heal, and in later times as Wyrrall. Deva was formerly what Liverpool is at the present day, the great port connecting Britain with the western world; and we may therefore understand how the men of the dependent district took their name from the capital, and were called the Cornavii, i. e. the Peninsulars, the classical writers forming the name of Cornavii from Kerneo, as the medieval Latinists formed from it Cornubia. Ptolemy mentions a tribe called the Kornau-ioi as living in North Britain. They have been located, and I think reasonably, in the peninsular district of Caithness.

Ptolemy fixes a British tribe called the Dēmētai in the country stretching westward between St. George's and the Bristol Channel. There has been much speculation as to the etymology of the name, but it appears to me sufficiently obvious. By a common permutation of the *m* the modern Welsh get Dyfed as the name of the district, and this is obviously the Welsh *diwedd* and Cornish *dewedh*, an end, a limit. Dēmēt-ai meant simply the men of the Dēmēt or Lands-end.

Caing or *cainc* signifies in Welsh a branch, and *cainc o mor*[1], a branch, or arm, of the sea. As Conquet and Concarneau in Brittany both lie on inlets of the sea, and are called by the Bretons respectively Conc Leon and Conc Kerneo, i. e. the Conc of Leon and the Conc of Kerneo, I drew the conclusion many years ago that *conc* in ancient Celtic signified an arm or inlet of the sea. Courson (La Bretagne, 36 n.) gives us the following definition:—

'Conc—baie formant bassin et où les navires peuvent trouver un abri.'

Legonidec does not notice the word, and I cannot tell

[1] Geag, Ir., = a branch. Muorgeag, Ir., = a frith.

whether Courson had any direct authority for his definition, or like myself arrived at it merely by way of inference. In either case I believe his definition to be a correct one; and moreover that it is specially applicable to an estuary like that of the Dee, which in the times we are speaking of must have been crowded with shipping. Tacitus tells us (Ann. 12. 32) that when Ostorius had defeated the Iceni, he led his army against the Cangi, and arrived 'not far from the sea which looks towards Ireland.' Much blundering philology has been expended in attempts to explain the meaning of the word Cangi. I believe it meant simply the men of the Caing or estuary, and that it was merely another name for the Cornavii[1]; who were sometimes called Cangi from the bay which sheltered their commerce, and sometimes Cornavii from the peninsula in which their capital was built.

Morecambe Bay in Lancashire is called by Ptolemy Morikambē; and as there is a small bay on the Solway also called Morecambe, we have good reason to believe that the name is a Celtic word signifying a bay. Now the Welsh *mor*, the sea, appears in ancient Celtic to have been a dissyllable, *mori* (see above, vol. i. p. 355); and from *cam*, crooked, is derived a Welsh substantive *cèmi*, crookedness. The Celtic *m* often becomes *mb* before a vowel (vol. i. pp. 364, 370), and if we may venture to assume that the final *i* of *cem-i* was lost in the nominatival ending of Morikambē[2], then Morikambē may be a Celtic word signifying a crook or bend of the sea—in other words, a bay.

Next to the headlands and inlets of a country, the natural features which most readily strike a stranger's eye are its forests and its champaigns, its mountain ranges and its valleys.

[1] See Pennant, Wales, 1, p. 4.

[2] In Cornish *cam* is used as a substantive as well as an adjective; and Mr. Williams informs us that in late Cornish it freely takes the labial, so that we even find *cabm* written for *cam*. More-camb-ĕ may therefore admit of this analysis, Mori-camb-ē, consisting of two Celtic substantives and the Greek feminine ending.

The largest, and for several reasons the most remarkable of the British forests in Britain, was that which in the Chronicle is called Andredes leage—the lea of Andred. It is said, with some exaggeration, to have been 120 miles long and thirty miles broad; and it certainly reached from the English Channel deep into Hampshire. The area it covered is still remarkable for large masses of woodland, and the low marshy character of its soil rendered its interior almost inaccessible even to a comparatively recent period[1]. It may be doubted if the Romans had any means of getting to the Sussex coast except by way of Bognor, and their station of Anderida (Pevensey) must have been far removed from the supporting fortresses of London and Chichester. Andred is compounded of the negative prefix *an* and *tred*, a habitation, so that *andred* meant the uninhabited district, the weald.

The forest of Arden is, I believe, first mentioned in mediaeval documents; but there can be little doubt that its name is Celtic, and identical with that of the Gaulish Arduenna, whose remains are still known as the Ardennes. The etymology of Arduenna has already been discussed (vide vol. i. p. 388), and the name no doubt signified the great weald or forest. Another forest district north of Malmesbury was called Bradene. The name often occurs in our early history, and is met with in the Chronicle. It is probably Celtic, but I cannot explain its meaning. I have elsewhere ventured to suggest how the name of Bearrucwudu may have originated (see above, p. 16). This woodland included Windsor forest, and spread over the greater part of Berkshire, to which it gave a name.

Celyddon is the plural of Celydd, which Owen Pughe defines 'a retreat, a woody shelter'; it was the name specially given to the great forest-tract which spread from Loch Ness over the Highland wastes. Owen Pughe tells us that

[1] William the Conqueror proceeded from Hastings to London by way of Dover; and a novelist of the last century lands his hero on the southern coast and sends him to London by the same route.

other tracts were called by this name, but I have not myself met with such instances. Florus indeed tells us (3. 10) that Caesar followed the Britons into 'the Calidonian woods.' But Florus was a late and a careless writer, and the passage is evidently a mere piece of rhetoric.

The forests mentioned in Domesday are only four in number, viz. Windsor in Berks, Gravelinges in Wilts, Wimborne in Dorset, and Wychwood, Oxon, &c. In the year 1250 the forests and woods in England, directly or indirectly under control of the crown. amounted to more than seventy[1]. (Turner's Domestic Architecture, p. 105.)

'The wooded pass of Alton, &c., which was not disafforested until the end of Henry's reign, was a favourite ambush. Even in the fourteenth century the wardens of the great fair of St. Giles held in that city (Winchester) paid five mounted sergeants-at-arms to keep the pass of Alton during the continuance of the fair according to custom.' (Turner's Domestic Architecture, p. 107.)

From *coed*, a wood, is derived the prepositional compound *argoed*, a woodland (vide vol. i. p. 355). There were many argoeds in Britain, but three seem to have been particularly distinguished. Argoed Bowys or the Powys-woodland must have covered the greater part of Shropshire. This county was called by our ancestors Scrobbes scyr, or the shire of the Scrob; its capital Scrobbes byrig, or the Burghs of the Scrob; and its inhabitants Scrob-saetas, or the settlers in the Scrob. The Anglo-Saxon *scrob* means generally a shrub, but in the above-mentioned instances I believe it meant a district of shaggy woodland, such a one as in Australia would be known as the 'Scrub.' Norman scribes corrupted *scrob* into *srop* and *slop*, and from this barbarous blunder came our modern name of Salop.

The forest which overspread the West Riding seems to have been known as the Argoed Derwenydd—at least such

[1] Spelman gives a list of the ancient English forests in his Glossary, but it is very incomplete. The statement above is made on the authority of a careful examination of the Close and Patent Rolls. Ib.

is the title given it in a MS. to which I shall shortly call the attention of the reader. The name of Derwynydd is a mystery to me. In the same MS. another forest-track is called Argoed Calchfynnydd. This Argoed was, I believe, the great woodland which has been gradually shrinking into its degenerate representative Rockingham Forest. We shall shortly consider the question which district was meant by the phrase Calchfynnydd.

Gwent, a champaign, was a common name in Britain; and of the districts which bore it one of the most remarkable was the open country round Winchester. It must have formed a striking contrast to the Andred, which bordered it on the south and east, and it certainly[1] gave a name to the Roman town—Venta Belgarum. Our ancestors converted Gwent into a feminine substantive *Winte*, gen. *Wintan*, and they called the town sometimes Wintan ceaster, the city of the Winte, and sometimes Winteceaster, which latter name has been corrupted into Winchester. From the Anglo-Saxon genitive Wintan comes the mediaeval adjective Winton-ensis. There was also a Gwent in the country of the Silures, and the open district of Monmouthshire is still called by the Welsh *Went*—a name which is not unknown to English history. The old capital of the district Caer Went was the Roman Venta Silurum. There was yet a third Gwent, which has left its traces on the Roman geography of Britain. The Venta Icenorum is now represented by the ruins at Caistor, a short distance east of Norwich; but the neighbourhood has been well 'cleared,' and it is less easy to mark out the limits of the ancient *Gwent* in this than in the other cases referred to.

The Gwent round Winchester lay to the east of the Andred; north of this great forest, and separating it from the Thames, was a long strip of open land called the

[1] Sir R. Colt Hoare supposes the Roman Venta to have furnished the first syllable of our modern Win-chester; but adds, '*unde derivatur Venta* I have never been able to ascertain.'

Caint. Owen Pughe gives us the following definition of the word:—

'Caint, sm pl. ceintiau, a plain or open country, a field, &c. There are many places called by the appellation of *Caint*, as *Caer Gaint*, Canterbury.'

It were to be wished that Owen Pughe had mentioned a few of the 'many places' which bear this name. The Romans converted Caint into Cantium.

Brynach, a highland region, has for its plural *Brynaich*. According to Owen Pughe it was the name given to a certain part of Merionethshire; but it is only as descriptive of the hill country reaching from the Cheviots northwards that the name has become known to history. When the antiquary travelling along 'Deir Street' reaches the foot of the Cheviots, he mounts gradually into the Brynaich, the 'land of brown heath and shaggy wood' which Walter Scott called 'Caledonia.' The green lowlands that have been left behind were the Deifyr of Welsh history, and, combined with the Brynaich, formed the great Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Northumberland. In Anglo-Saxon the forms Berniccas and Deras, or rather their genitives Bernicca and Dera[1], are not uncommon. These forms in *as* literally signified the *men* of Bernyc and of Der, but according to Anglo-Saxon usage they were also employed to designate the districts.

Mynydd, a mountain, enters freely into Welsh composition; and in the MS. I have already once referred to we find a district lying between the Trent and the Thames designated as Calch-fynydd or the Lime-mountain. There can be little doubt that this name Calchfynnydd originally meant the range of chalk hills which ran through the territory of the Catuvellauni, from the borders of the Iceni to the Thames. Its crest was traversed by one of the most important trackways in Britain, viz. the Icknield Way,

[1] We generally meet with them in the genitive or dative cases, Bernicca, Berniccum, &c.; but I think we may reasonably assume the existence of nominatives in *as*.

and beneath its western scarp lay some of our most fertile districts, the vale of Buckingham, the vale of Aylesbury, &c. We may therefore feel the less surprise at finding early Welsh works assigning this name of Calchfynydd to the country of the great tribe which for nearly two centuries predominated in Britain. It is satisfactory to find that the Welsh name of this important district has been preserved.

In one of the poems ascribed to Taliessin, ar-fynydd or the highlands is opposed to ar-goed, or the woodland. It is well to know that the phrase ar-fynnydd was used in ancient British topography, but it would require too long a digression to attempt to fix the locality of the particular arfynnydd alluded to.

The 'Lickey' of Worcestershire is a long declivity sloping down to the basin of the Severn from the high land north of Bromsgrove. The name in all probability is a corruption of *llechwedd*, 'the steep or shelving of a hill,' which is not unfrequently met with in Welsh topography. Ar-llechwedd, according to a well-known analogy, signifies a district of slopes; and Arllechwedd Galedin seems to have been the name given to the shelving country which sloped from the high uplands of Salisbury plain[1] to the beautiful valley through which the Fosse Way ran south from Bath to Ilchester. This locality must have been a noted one in the region pertaining to the southern Belgae, for we find their country designated as the Arllechwedd Galedin in the Triads and other early Welsh works, just as the country of the Catuvellauni bore the name of its most prominent feature, and was called Calchfynnydd.

The *varia* terminating so many of the old Celtic names found in the Itineraries, had a more special signification than Llechwedd, inasmuch as it seems to have denoted the descent of some road or trackway (vide vol. i. p. 372).

Ptolemy calls the inhabitants of Dorset Dour-o-triges.

[1] Near Frome are places called Vallis House and Vallis bottom; and Valaize is an old word for a slope.

In Cornish *trige* means 'to inhabit'; in Welsh *daear-drig* 'dwelling on land,' *daear*, land; so that Dour-o-trig-es must mean dwellers in Dour. In the Chronicle the men of Dorset are called both Dornsaetas and Dorsetas. It would seem then that there was both in the Roman and the Saxon times a district called Dor or Dorn. The Welsh *dwr* means a stream, water; and the popular opinion is that Dorset took its name as being a maritime county. But not one of our maritime shires is more completely shut off from the sea than Dorset; from the railway station, Weymouth, east, runs a range of chalk cliffs nearly to Poole, and westward, halfway to Bridport, runs the Chesil beach, between which and the mainland is a line of backwater some nine or ten miles long. The only ready way of getting to the seaside is by descending the *varia* from Dorchester, or following the Frome to its mouth at Poole; and the only mode in which I can account for the name of Dor or Dorn is by supposing that the Frome was in ancient times so called, and that it gave its name to the district it drained. We have already remarked how often the names of rivers take a final *n* (vol. i. p. 367). Doun-ion, in Ptolemy, may be a clerical blunder for Dour-ion, or perhaps for Dourn-ion, and Dorchester may have sometimes taken the name of the Celtic town Dournovaria, and sometimes have been called Dour-ion from the river, on whose banks it stood.

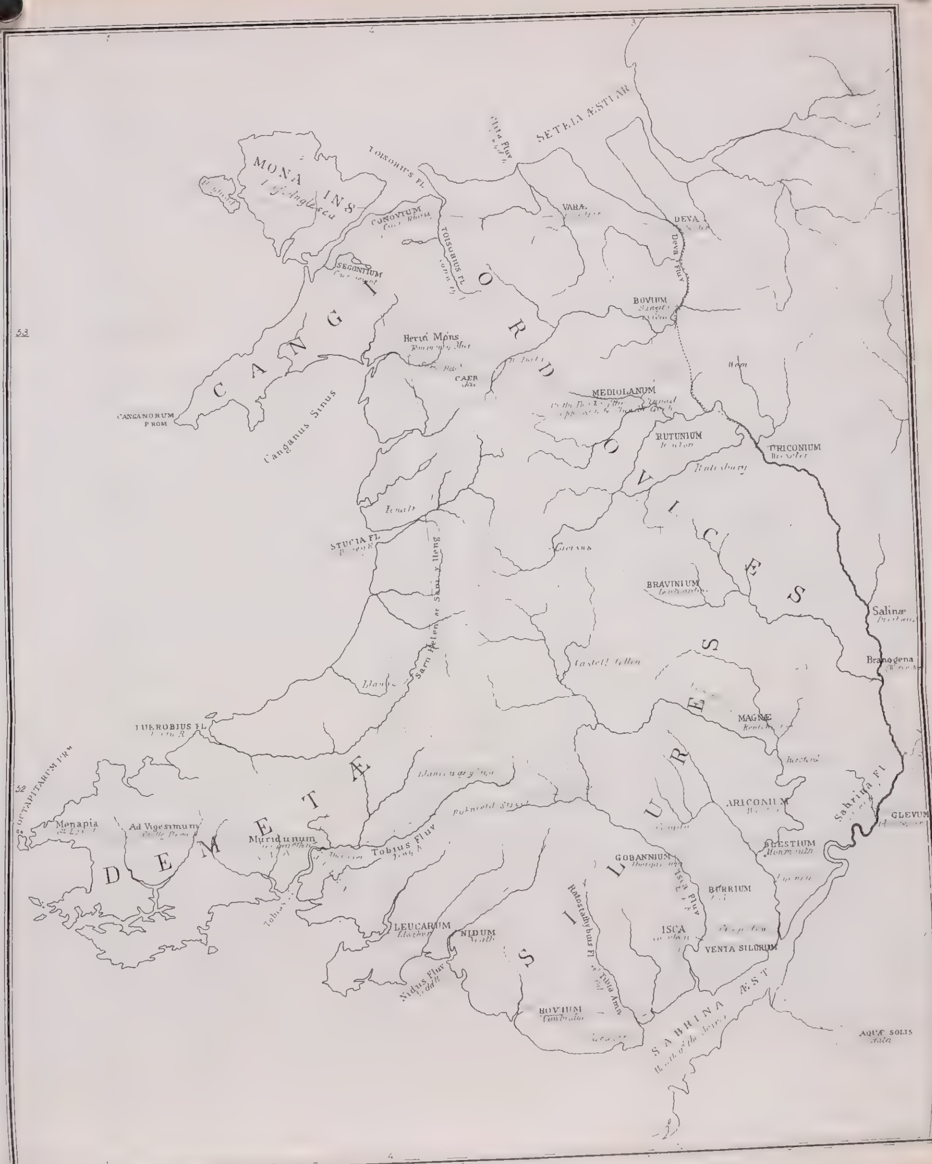
Ptolemy locates in the south of Britain a people called Doumnonioi. They must have dwelt in Devon, for Exeter was one of their towns, and have spread over Cornwall, for the Lizard was termed the Damnonian promontory. I believe the *on* in Doumnon-ioi to be the Welsh ending *on*, which is used not only to form plurals but also to form compounds[1], and that Doum-non-ioi signifies the people of Doumn. In Irish *domhain* means deep, and *doimhn-e* depth; and every one that has wandered over Salisbury plain and looked down from its south-western skirts upon

[1] See vol. i. pp. 368, 373.

the country beneath him, will acknowledge how appropriate for the district is a name signifying 'the depths or bottoms.' As the Irish *mh* is pronounced as *v*, we see how readily *doumn*, if it be connected with *doimhne*, might pass into Devon. The Vale of the Severn is the prolongation of this deep country to the north, and as the Welsh *dwfn* signifies the deep, and as *f* is a Welsh permutation of *b*, we can understand how it gave rise to Dobuni, the name of the people who dwelt in the Severn valley. From the Welsh *dwfn* comes the adjective *dyfnain*, abounding in deeps, and from this comes the substantive *dyfnaint*, bottoms, which is the modern Welsh name for Devonshire. The Celtic names which gave rise to Damnonii and Dobuni were no doubt nearly connected with each other, but probably belong to different Celtic dialects.

The people of North Britain, to whom Ptolemy gives the name of Damn-ioi are generally, and I believe rightly, located in Clydesdale. In one place the Greek geographer calls them Damnon-ioi. The name is evidently the same as Doumnon-ioi.

Welsh names of districts are often difficult to explain. In some cases they have originated in circumstances of recent date, but more frequently date from a remote antiquity, from times indeed anterior to the Roman conquest of the island. The most complete list of these Welsh names that has fallen under my notice, is found in the 'Iolo MSS.' p. 86. It was taken from a MS. belonging to 'Mr. Cobb, of Cardiff,' and is a mere fragment, a page of the MS. having been torn out. I have not seen this MS., and know neither its age nor the sources whence the information it contains was taken. But judging from its contents, I see nothing unreasonable in the supposition that it may have been written in the sixteenth century by one who had ancient materials within reach. With an old Welsh map of Britain before him—a map probably distorted out of all resemblance to the real outline of the country—the compiler seems to have run his eye along the line of the Welsh coast from the Usk



BRITANNIA SECUNDA

in Monmouthshire to the borders of Cheshire. From thence he swept over the south of Yorkshire to the mouth of the Trent, and thence southwards to the Thames. The districts lying within the circuit thus described are then recounted, but in no very definite order.

The chief dominions of the country of the Cymry—

1. Gwent[1], from the river Wysg, as far as the bridge of Caerloyw.

2. Morganwg[2], from the river Wysg to Ystrad Tawy.

3. Rheged, from Ystrad Tawe to Ystrad Tywi.

4. Dyfed, from Ystrad Tywi as far as Glyn Teifi.

5. Ceredigion, from Ystrad Teifi as far as the sea, and about Dyfi and the Cantref Orddwyf[3].

6. Gwynedd, from the Cantref Orddwyf as far as Menai, and about Aerfen and Theyrnllwg.

7. Theyrnllwg from Aerfen as far as Argoed Derwenydd.

8. Deifr and Bryneich, from Argoed Derwenydd as far as the river Trenn.

9. Argoed Calchfynydd[4], between Trenn and the river Tain, which is none other than the river of Lundain.

10. Fferyllwg, between Gwy and Hafren.

11. Powys, round about Aerfen, and the upland of Teyrnlwg and the extremities of Fferyllwg and the Cantref Orddwyf.

12. Brycheiniog, from the sources of Gwy as far as about Wysg and the extremities of Fferyllwg.

[1] The bishopric of Llandaff extended from the Wye to Towy, Lib. Landav. 550.

[2] So ereinn-wg = a pear-orchard = Herefordshire.

[3] 'Mon Gwynedd' and the 'Cantref' are common phrases in old Welsh writings. Vide Iolo MSS. Ancient localities Cors-y-gedol, Muriau Gwyddelod near Harlech. Arch. Camb. Jan. 1869, p. 89. Cynedda slew the Irish 'yng Ngwynedd a'r Cantref Ag ym Mhowys' in Gwynedd, on the Cantref, and in Powys. Iolo MSS. 79.

[4] In a curious Heraldic MS. of the age of Elizabeth certain Welsh families are traced to 'Kadrod Kalchvynydd Earle of *Dunstable*' Archaeologia Cambr. Oct. 1872, p. 315.

13. Caint about the river Tain and the Mor Tawch, as far as the extremities of Arllechwedd Galedin.

14. Arllechwedd Galedin, from this last one as far as the confines of Dyfnaint, and about the extremities of Gwlad yr Haf and Argoed Calchfynydd.

15. Dyfnaint and Cerniw, from Arllechwedd Galedin and the intermediate seas as far as the Mor Udd.

16. Gwlad yr Haf, from the river Goreifion about the extremities of the dominion of Calchfynydd, and about Afon to Fferyllwg and Gwent as far as the Mor Essyllwg, which is called the Mor Hafren, as far as about the confines of Dyfnaint and Chernyw. (Iolo MSS. pp. 86, 476.)

Caerloyw is Gloucester, the Caer Glou of Henry of Huntingdon. By extending the limits of Gwent to Gloucester bridge it is clear the compiler had in view the district which some of the princes of Gwent laid claim to and occasionally ravaged. Gwent proper consisted of the champaign of the two shires of Monmouth and Glamorgan, and even at this day a considerable portion of Monmouthshire lies west of the Wysg, or Usk, river. Morganwg is that portion of ancient Gwent which was governed in the tenth century by the Welsh prince Morgan, from whom it took its name of Gwlad-Morgan, the country of Morgan, now corrupted into Glamorgan. According to the loose geography of the Welsh compiler, it stretched to Ystrad Tawi, or the vale of Swansea. The district lying between the Tawy and the Towy, between the Swansea and Caermarthen rivers, is called Rheged. There was another district bearing this name in North Britain. Now the Welsh word *rhag*, a front, a van, enters freely into composition; *rhag-dy* an outhouse, *ty* a house; *rhag-ddrws* an outer door, *drws* a door; *rhag-ynys* an adjacent island, *ynys* an island; &c. As from *gwastad*, level, comes *gwastad-edd*, a plain, and from *hal*, salt, comes *hel-edd*, a brine-pit, so from *rhag* a front, may have come this name *rheged*, a border or frontier district. The southern Rheged lay between the Silures and the Demetae, and was indeed the western

frontier of the first of these two tribes. The northern Rheged I believe to have been, not Cumberland as is generally supposed, but North Lancashire, or, to speak more correctly, the district stretching from the Ribble to the fells of Westmoreland. This must have been the western frontier of the Brigantes, whose territory we are told reached from sea to sea (Ptolemy 2. 2. 7). It was the country of the celebrated Urien, and all that Welsh legend has handed down to us relating to this chief is in agreement with the hypothesis. Dyfed, which follows Rheged in the list, is evidently the country of Ptolemy's Demetai. The etymology of this name, though it has given rise to much false speculation, seems to admit of an easy explanation. The Welsh *diwedd*, Cornish *diwedh*, and Breton *divez* signify an end, a limit. *f* is a common Welsh permutation for *m*, and we may conjecture that *difed* was given as a suitable name to the farthest district, the lands-end of that part of Britain. (See above, p. 40.) The limits assigned to the district, viz. from the Towy to the Tivy, south of Cardigan, may not be very different from those which really belonged to the country of the ancient Demetai. Cardigan is represented as reaching from the Tivy to the sea, 'and round about the Dovey and Cantrev Ordwyv[1].' The description is indefinite, but it seems to assign to Cardigan some districts lying north of the Dovey, and there are other reasons for believing that Cardigan did actually at one time extend its borders in this direction. Cantrev Ordwyv seems to designate the mountainous parts of Merionethshire, and its first element *ord* may possibly be the same word as the Irish and Cornish word *ard*, high, lofty. From Ordwyv might be derived the adjective Ordwyvig, and this would at once give us the name by which the classical writers designated the inhabitants of North Wales, viz. Ordovic-es. From this we might gather that at the time of the Roman invasion the highlanders of Ordwyv or Merionethshire were

[1] See note on p. 49 above.

the dominant tribe of North Wales, and had imposed on it their name.

Certain parishes or districts in Britanny connect the word *lôk* with that of the patron saint, as Lôk-Ronan, Lôk-Eguiner, Lôk-Tudi, Lôk-Harn, &c. (vide Legonidec, 'Lôk'). Owen Pughe, under the head Llog, gives us the phrase 'llog o dir' as indicating a certain portion of land equal to nearly four acres. I suspect that Teyrnllwg and Fferyllwg are examples of the same formation. As the Welsh *teyrn* means a king, teyrn-llwg would, on this hypothesis, signify the king's portion. The district[1] answered to the Vale Royal and its appurtenances. Fferyllwg was the district between the Wye and the Severn—in other words, the Forest of Dean, so famous for its iron mines. The Welsh *Fferyll* means a worker in metals, and Fferyllwg must be the smith's portion, the district of the iron-forgers, &c. There is also a district of Glamorgan called Gwent-llwg.

I would say a few words as to the sources which furnished the materials for this Welsh geography of Britain. The notices of the coast-districts from Gwent to Teyrnllwg were no doubt founded on native authorities more or less ancient. From Teyrnllwg the compiler passes eastward over the district which is now known as the West Riding, and he calls it Devyr and Brynaic [Deifr and Bryneich]. Devyr and Brynaic was the Welsh name for the ancient kingdom of Northumberland, and his use of the phrase to designate a small fraction of the country shows how familiar it must have been to him. It is clear from Nennius and the writings of others, his contemporaries, that Northumberland was, of all the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, the one which the Welsh best knew and most regarded. Their connexion with the kindred races of Strath-Clyde was no doubt the cause. The migration from the Clyde to North Wales took place in the tenth century; but there is little doubt that most intimate relations existed between the two districts long before. We may infer that the popular

[1] The name of Durnluc occurs in Nennius, c. 35.

mind in Wales was acquainted with the history of North Britain under the dominion of its English kings; but of the country south of Trent it seems they knew nothing that was of later date than the Roman conquest.

I am not aware of any political division of the island which answers to Calchfynydd, unless it be the district once subject to the Catuvellauni; and I believe the compiler was obliged to dive thus deeply into antiquity for his materials. He puts together the Welsh districts lying between Calchfynydd and the coast-districts already described —Fferyllwg Powys and Brycheiniog (Brecknock). These must have been all well known to Welshmen at all periods of their history; and he then divides the country lying more southerly into two districts, Caint and Arllechwedd Galedin. Kent has always been brought so prominently forward in British history that its name and position could hardly fail to be known even to an uneducated Welshman. Arllechwedd Galedin, I believe, meant the district of the southern Belgae. The term, as I have already observed (p. 46), means properly the valley traversed by the Fosse south of Bath. This district seems always to have been one of the most important of that Belgic state, and here its political life maintained itself long after the other members of the state had perished. It may be observed that Somerset, or Gwlad yr Haf, as it was called by a very ancient but very foolish mistranslation, was really a portion of the territory of the Southern Belgae. This is not the only instance in the compilation where we find a modern district overlapping, as it were, an ancient one. Dyfnaint and Cernyw were known, at all periods, alike as ancient British districts and as English counties.

The Welsh word *gwy*, water, is a common ending of Welsh names of rivers, e. g. El-wy, Llug-wy, Myn-wy, &c. Attached to the Mundy Gospels in Pembroke College Library, is an Anglo-Saxon charter which describes the boundaries of the diocese of Hereford. In it Monmouth is called Munuwi Mutha. The MS. was written in the

eleventh century, and the occurrence of the connecting vowel in a writing of that late period is very interesting.

In the 13th Iter, Cirencester is called Dur-o-cornovio, the river of Cornovio—where Cornovio, I take it, is an undeclined name formed from the ablative of Cornovium. Cornovium I would analyze thus—Corn-o-vi-um, where Corn is the primitive name of the river, still preserved in the modern term 'the Churn,' *o* is the connecting vowel, *vi* the suffix *gwy*, and *um* the Latin neuter-ending. Con-o-vi-a, the Roman station at Conway, and Vin-o-vi-a, the Roman station at Bin-chester on the Wear, must have signified respectively the Con-water and the Bin-water, though I have never known the names *Con* and *Win* given to those rivers.

The Anglo-Saxon *ea*, water, enters into composition, and it often requires great care to distinguish its compounds from the Welsh compounds we have been considering. Cerney on the Churn, a few miles south of Cirencester, doubtless took its name from an Anglo-Saxon *Cern-ea*, the Churn-water, and is a different word from the Welsh name preserved in Cornovi-o. In like manner the Wiltshire river, the *Wiley*, must surely represent an Anglo-Saxon *Wil-ea*, or Wil-river, the first element of which gave name to the Anglo-Saxon Wil-tun, or town of the Wil, and to the Anglo-Saxon Wil-saetan, i. e. the settlers on the Wil. But the Welshman Asser (ad ann. 871) calls this river the Guilou, which, though it signifies the same thing as Wiley, viz. the Wil-river, is a different word, being, there can be little doubt, a Welsh compound. Bede (Hist. Eccl. 2. 14) calls the Swale the *Sualua*, which is also in all probability a Welsh compound now obsolete. The name of Cashio, in Hertfordshire, which has given rise to so much foolish speculation, is probably an ancient name of the brook which passes by *Ches*-ham, and flowing through a part of Cashio hundred enters the Colne near Cashio-bury[1].

[1] In France, in the canton of Ceserieux, is a small river called 'La Chaise,' where D'Anville places Cas-uaria.

But whether Cashio be a corruption of an Anglo-Saxon Cas-ea, or of an old Welsh name Cas-o-wy, I cannot say.

I have stated that Dur-o-cornovio meant the water or river of Cornovio. In like manner Durocatelauni (Chalons-sur-Marne) meant the river of the Catelauni; and Durovernum (Canterbury) at the river of the *vernum*, i. e. the *gwern* or osier-bed. We know how general in Britain was the use of wicker and wattle work, and can therefore understand how valuable must have been the beds which furnished the necessary materials. The number of ancient British names which are compounded of this Welsh word *gwern* need not surprise us. These compounds of *Dur* appear to have been introduced into the language at a late period. In the neighbourhood of Durolevo, i. e. the station between Canterbury and Rochester (Iter 2), the Roman road runs beside the Sheppey Marshes. These in the Roman times must have been a collection of pools at high water. The Welsh Llif means a flood, and the Cornish *lo*. which is probably a mere dialectical variation of the word, means a pool. Dur-o-lev-o therefore may have signified the water of the Llif, i. e. of the flood or pool. Cirencester was first called after the name of its river, *Corinium*, and then Cornovio, i. e. at the Churn-river—the name of Durocornovio must have been of very late formation. It will be observed, that the elements of these compounds are arranged according to the order which now prevails in the Celtic dialects, but there are others in which we find them ranged in a different order. In the cases which are evidently the more ancient the word *dur* does not always mean a river, but, in some cases at least, a mineral spring. This Div-o-durum (Metz) had in its neighbourhood certain salt springs (at the modern Viche), which seem to have given rise to the old Celtic name, the water of Div—*Duw*. Whether the word *Div* here meant Deity in the abstract, or some particular idol, is a question that has to be determined. The great importance of these salt-pits in these early times must be obvious, and we know that the

possession of them sometimes gave rise to war between neighbouring tribes. On certain coins of Tasciovanus is found the legend Solido or Solidu, and antiquaries have generally attributed these coins to Bath, and supposed that the legend should be read when complete, *Solidunum* or *Solidonum*. I should prefer reading Solidurum or Solidorum, i. e. the water of Soli—the deity who presided over the hot baths. The Latin name Aquae Solis would then be a literal rendering of the Celtic name.

The letter *n* becomes *nd* before the connecting vowel, according to the law already mentioned, vol. i. p. 364. We have the like letter-change in Vind-o-cladia. This station lay in the valley of the Wimberne, or Wimburne as it is sometimes written. Cladia may be the Welsh *clawdd*, plural *cloddiau*, a ditch, so that Vind-o-cladia may signify the win-ditches. They are still, or at least *were* when I visited them, now many years since, in good preservation.

* * * * * * *

In[1] the present chapter it is intended to discuss the question, what were the chief lines of thoroughfare in the British islands before these means of communication were brought under the control of a central authority, and improved by the arts of a civilized people. As one mode of ascertaining the direction these trackways followed will be a reference to the Roman roads which superseded them, we shall be obliged occasionally to touch upon matters which may seem more properly to belong to a later division of our subject. But the present preliminary inquiry will enable us hereafter to approach the history of the Roman highways unembarassed by the consideration of questions that must almost necessarily obtrude themselves, and may inconveniently distract attention if not previously disposed of.

We may assume, as a general rule, that in 'prehistoric' times travellers would not willingly frequent roads, the

[1] [The following fragments belong to the subject treated in the separate paper on the 'Four Roman Ways' printed below, pp. 218 sq. Unfortunately the sheets which should have connected them are not forthcoming.]

passage along which was liable to be interrupted by the overflow of brooks, or which were exposed to the attacks of banditti lurking in the neighbouring woodlands. Accordingly, those trackways which we have reason to believe were used from ancient times generally avoid the forest districts, and pursue a course not crossed by streams likely to be dangerous or troublesome. The Icknield Way, whose course from Icklingham to the Thames is very satisfactorily made out, crosses only one brook, viz. the one at Ickleford, and must have been sufficiently removed from the woodlands to secure the traveller from any sudden attack on the part of the banditti who haunted them. When Rome established her dominion there was the less need for these precautions; the Roman engineer could easily throw a bridge over a stream when necessary, and Roman police were well able to cope with the dangers that lurked in the woodlands. Accordingly we find the Roman highways going straight to their mark alike through plain and forest, regardless of obstacles which at an earlier period would have been considered formidable. In later times, when weaker governments had to provide a remedy for these mischiefs, the insecurity of the highways became a national scandal, and the means adopted to meet the evil were miserably inefficient. Even as late as the fourteenth century, whenever there was a great gathering for a fair, a Church service, or any other public object, it was customary for the authorities to send a special force to 'keep' the roads in dangerous localities; and even with these precautions there was a fearful amount of outrage and robbery. Under the later Anglo-Saxon kings the sovereign took cognizance of injuries sustained on the four principal highways of the kingdom, but left the ordinary roads to such protection as the county courts could render them. The four roads thus privileged are commonly known as the Four Roman Ways. It is an unfortunate term, for one of the four roads was never adopted by the Romans, and a second only partially so; but the name has been so

generally accepted that it may be well to retain it in the present inquiry, inconvenient though it be.

* * * * * * *

The centre of the disturbance seems to have lain a little north of the border. From this point a long line of elevation penetrates southwards under different names—Crossfell, Stanemoor, Craven, the Derbyshire Moors, &c.—deep into England, and terminates on the northern confines of Worcestershire. It is sometimes called the Middle Ridge, and forms the watershed between our eastern and our western waters. A line of moorland of no great height passes also northwards towards the Forth, and may be considered as the natural boundary between the Lothians and Clydesdale. From the same centre radiate eastward two hill-ranges—one named the Cheviots, dying away some ten or twelve miles before it reaches the German ocean, while the more northerly one, named the Lammermuir, reaches the sea at St. Abb's Head. Between the Cheviots and the Lammermuir lies the basin of the Tweed, and north of the Lammermuir the Lothians. From the same centre radiate westward two other ranges, the one expanding as it reaches the Irish sea into the undulating country called Galloway, and the other forming the district so well known as the Lake-country. Between these two lies the basin which drains into the Solway. The Highlands north of the Forth, and the mountain district west of the Severn, may be considered most conveniently when our attention is more particularly called to those parts of the island.

Owing to the great upheavement we have described, the overlying strata of the oolite and the chalk are pushed upwards on its eastern flank, and form escarpments facing to the north-west. The outcrops of these two important formations run from north-east to south-west, and may be conveniently called, after their best-known portions, the Chiltern and the Cotswold ranges. The character of the ranges differs widely. The chalk hills of the Chiltern rise

like rounded masses from the level of a wide and open plain, and as a general rule we have to reach the clays and gravels of the London basin before we meet with woodlands in our progress eastward. The hills of the Cotswold run into 'edges,' from which we look down westward upon a well-wooded country that in early times must in many places have been unbroken forest. The open undulating upland which lay between the two forest districts on the east and the west must at all times have afforded easy access to the interior of the island. Through this open country from the south-west to the north-east ran two of the most ancient and most important of the British trackways; one, afterwards called the Icknield Way, ran on and alongside the Chiltern to the Fen district, and the other on and alongside the Cotswold range into the basin of the Trent. The Icknield Way, though sometimes interrupted and broken up, still shows itself as an ancient trackway through the greater part of its course, but the other British Way seems to have gone early into disuse owing to the construction of the Roman 'Fosse' alongside of it, and can now be only traced in particular localities, and with difficulty.

Over the greater part of England I have travelled *on foot*, and excursions measured by thousands of miles enable me to speak with confidence as to the character of the landscape. With Ireland my acquaintance is but limited, and my knowledge of the general features of the country hardly greater than that of an ordinary tourist. During the whole of the historical period Leinster appears to have been looked upon as the great central district; and in the days of Patrick, and for a century or two afterwards, the hill of Teamhair (Tara), a few miles south of the Boyne, was the place where the little provincial kings met in council. The names of the principal highways leading to this celebrated hill have been preserved in Irish tradition [Slighe Mor, or Eiscir Riada, Slighe Dala, and Slighe Asail[1]].

[1] Slighe Dala was the great road from East Munster to Tara; Slighe Asail seems to have led to Tara from the King's County.

Eiscir[1] Riada was the name of the great driftway leading eastward from the Shannon. It is described as 'a continuous line of gravel hills extending from Dublin to Clarin Bridge in Galway[2].' But the actual termini of these old roads often shifted, and in the ancient days of Ireland Dublin was a comparatively unimportant place. There can be little doubt that Teamhair (Tara) was the original terminus to which this trackway led. O'Reilly defines the Irish phrase Eiscir to be a ridge of mountains, and Owen Pughe defines the Welsh esgair, which is very often met with in Welsh topography, to be 'a long ridge.'

* * * * * * *

Orosius calls the chief of the Trinobantes Androgorius, but it would not be safe to speculate on this variation of the name. In Orosius proper names are often strangely blundered. Suetonius (Calig. c. 44), when he describes the flight of Adminius to Caligula, has the passage, 'Adminio Cinobellini Britannorum regis filio, etc. in deditionem recepto,' which Orosius converts into 'cumque ibi Minocynobellinum, Britannorum regis filium, etc. in deditionem recepisset,' &c. It may be a useful lesson to trace some of the consequences which flowed from this blunder. Nennius, or rather one of his copyists, tells us that Caesar 'pugnabat contra Dolabellum[3] qui erat proconsul regi Britannico, qui et ipse rex Bellinus vocabatur et filius erat Minocani,' &c.[4] Here we have the Minocynobellinus which represented Adminius, son of Cunobellinus, split into two British kings, Minocanus and Bellinus. These two kings fill no small space in British history, and we have a minute account of their reigns and characters in Biographical Dictionaries! Strange as the

[1] There is a place called Esker, twenty miles west of Athlone.

[2] B. of Magh Leana. p. 68. Vide Ann. of Four Masters, p. 104.

[3] In all probability the original reading was 'pugnabat apud Dolo bellum,' &c., fought a battle at Dolo, i.e. Deal, vide pp. 54, 112. Several MSS. have the reading 'apud Dolabellum,' which a later copyist seems to have altered into 'contra Dolabellum,' in order to correct the Latinity. It was probably this last critic who made Dolabella a proconsul to King Bellinus, son of Minocanus.

[4] Hist. Nennii, c. 14.

transformation may seem, I have little doubt that the Androgorius of Orosius is merely a blundered variation of Mandubratius.

The district which obeyed the commands of Cunobellinus may, I think, be marked out with considerable precision. Beginning with Holywell, in Flintshire, the boundary ran along the Wats-dyke to the marshes of the Virnwy, through them to the Severn, along the Severn to the point in the British Channel where the Wans-dyke reached the sea, and then along the Wans-dyke to Savernake Forest. From the Forest the boundary passed to and along the dyke which crossed the road from Silchester to Old Sarum, and then penetrating the depths of the Andred reached the English Channel. It ran along the Channel and on to the mouth of the Stour, then up that river and along the Branditch and the marshy banks of the Cam to the Fens. It skirted the western border of the Fens to the Wash, followed the Lincolnshire coast to the Humber, ran up that river to the heart of Sherwood, and then passed westward through the woodlands till it reached Manchester. Along the Mersey it passed to the Irish Sea, and so along the Irish Sea to Holywell, whence it started.

The Severn, there can be little doubt, takes it name from the Irish Sabhrann, a boundary. The same name seems to have been formerly given to the Cork-river, for Giraldus Cambrensis calls that river Saverennus (Opp. 5. 30), and it was probably so called because it divided the district named Corcahege. Savernake appears to be an adjective Sabhranach. Savernake Forest was probably called by the Belgae, Coit Sabhranach, i.e. the Wood of Sabhrann, or the border-forest.

CHAPTER III.

Walled towns in Transalpine Gaul as early as the second century B.C. Ingenious construction of the walls: half stone, half timber. — Dry walls of ragstone, of whinstone, of stone and turf, &c.; double and triple. — Stone-slabs, various purposes for which they were used. — 'Horizontal vaulting;' beehive houses; Irish cloghauns. — Pictish burghs; cells in the walls; Edinshall, and other like constructions; construction of Welsh hill-fortresses. — British huts of wicker-work thatched; mode of resisting lateral pressure.

Incised stones in Northumberland. — Rude carvings in Ireland and Brittany; ornamental rather than symbolical. — Sepulchres guarded 'sub ascia.' — In Celtic burials the body often enclosed in some earthy substance.

Immolation of victims by the Gauls. — Testimony of Caesar, Diodorus, and Strabo. — Priestesses of the Kimbroi. — *Nemetum* old Celtic for 'temple.'

The 'Murus' of Hadrian; mentioned by Spartian and Capitolinus. — The Wall of Severus. — Three principal hypotheses as to the history of these walls, Camden's, Horsley's, and Stukeley's. — The last, supported by Hodgson and Dr. Bruce, now generally accepted. — Roman earthworks in temporary camps. — The *vallum.* — Position of the palisades. — The evidence of Bede. — The course of the Walls from the Tyne westward. — Cilurnum, Borcovicus, Luguvallia.

Principal articles of ancient dress. — The *braccae* as worn by the Sarmatae different from those of the Gauls and Britons. — Clothing and weapons of the Roman soldier. — The *pilum*; its advantage over long spears. — The 'Spanish sword.' — Weapons of the Gauls and Spaniards. Gaulish and Celtic swords. — The *gaesum.* — The *angon.*

The Gauls as described by Diodorus, and Appian. — Their appearance and habits. — The description of Strabo.

Polybius informs us (2. 17) that the Gauls of Italy lived in unwalled villages. Their wealth consisted of cattle and gold ornaments, and this kind of wealth they preferred, as being most readily carried off in case of need. The people whom Caesar had to deal with, a century later, in Transalpine Gaul, must have reached a higher stage of civilization. Their towns appear to have been for the most part walled; and were probably laid out with some regard

to convenience and to general comfort of the inhabitants, for we read of market-places, &c. (B. G. 7. 28). Marseilles was built by the Greeks in the sixth century B.C., and Alesia, if we may trust Diodorus (5. 25), at a still earlier date by the Phoenicians; but towns of really Gaulish origin were, I suspect, extremely rare before the first century B.C. Some of these towns were strongly fortified, and judging from the efforts which the inhabitants made to save Avaricum (B. G. 7. 15), it would seem they were regarded with much pride and affection by those who owned them.

The walls of the Gaulish towns were of prodigious thickness, and their construction was singularly ingenious. Trunks of trees some forty feet long, were laid on the ground side by side, and some two feet apart. The ends pointing towards the interior of the town were connected together, and the spaces between the trunks filled in for the most part no doubt with earth, but on what was to be the outer face of the walls with stone. The second layer was laid over the first in such a way that its timbers lay over the stonework, and its stonework over the timbers of the first layer, so that when the whole was finished, the ends of the several trunks appeared, on the outer face of the wall, disposed cheque-wise. We learn from Caesar (B. G. 7. 23) that walls so constructed were not only satisfactory to the eye, but had other and more important advantages; they could neither be burnt owing to the stonework, nor breached by the ram owing to the bond given by the timber[1].

[1] Le Duc tells us (Dict. of Arch. *Enceinte*) that 'Les Gaulois au dire de César faisaient des enceintes de villes, de bourgades ou de camps fortifiés au moyen de troncs d'arbres entremêlés de pierres. Les Germains les composaient de palissades de bois entre lesquelles on amassait de la terre, des branches d'arbres, de l'herbe, de façon a former une véritable muraille *très-propre à résister aux efforts du bélier; le feu même n'avait que peu de prise sur ces ouvrages presque toujours humides.*' Le Duc quotes no authority to support his description of the German walls, and I cannot help thinking that his only authority was the passage in Caesar I have referred to. If so, he has not only misappropriated Caesar's statement, but has misunderstood its purport.

This mode of construction must have been well known to the Britons; and as their country was two-thirds forest, was well suited to the circumstances of their position. But we have no authority for saying that they did so build their walls, and the remains of walls half-constructed of timber have probably long since perished.

In certain of our old sites are occasionally dug up masses of calcined matter, which are evidently the result of the conflagration that destroyed the British town; and I cannot help thinking that the same, or some other similar cause, may have occasioned the partial fusion observable in the walls surrounding several of the old fortresses we meet with in the North of Britain. A writer who has specially devoted his attention to the subject of these 'vitrified sites' (Arch. Scot. 4. 280) considers that beacon-fires have in some cases produced the appearances that now present themselves. It has, however, been asserted[1] that the vitrification must have been the result of design, inasmuch as the fusible portion of the walls were in some cases brought from a distance, a fact which would have great weight if it were well established. Le Duc (Dict. of Arch. *Enceinte*, p. 205) speaks of certain walls in Brittany as having been originally made of granite, clay and trunks of trees, and thinks that faggots may have been heaped on them and burnt till the granite was partially fused, and the clay run into a solid mass. But in reading this description we are at once reminded of the nature of the old Gaulish walls[2], and can hardly help suspecting that the heat of some hundred blazing huts may have run clay and granite together quite as effectually as the faggots Le Duc heaps upon them for that purpose.

There is but one circumstance which makes me hesitate in adopting the conclusion that these vitrified walls were the result of accident. Some eighty or ninety years ago there was in Shropshire an old building called Gatacre

[1] McCulloch's Highlands and West Isles of Scotland, I. 292.

[2] Vide p. 63.

Hall, 'the walls of which were very particular, on account of their being built of a dark grey freestone, coated with a green vitrified substance about the thickness of a crown piece, a most effectual preservative against all bad weather[1].' The building has been pulled down, but there is no reason for doubting the accuracy of the description given of it. It is strange indeed that its peculiarities have excited so little interest, for they were in other respects noticeable. 'The hall was nearly an exact square, and truly remarkably constructed. At each corner, and in the middle of each side, and in the center, was an immense oak, hewed nearly square and without branches, set with their heads on large stones laid about a foot deep in the ground, and with their roots uppermost, which roots with a few rafters formed a complete arched roof. The floor was of oak boards, three inches thick, not sawed, but plainly chipped.' If we may trust these accounts, it seems difficult to avoid the conclusion that the inhabitants of this island really had at one time some means of vitrifying the surface of their walls. The old names of Glastonbury in some measure tends to strengthen this conclusion. It was called by the Welsh, as early as the sixth century, *Ynis Wytrin* (Malm. Gesta, I. 27), that is, the glass island; and its Anglo-Saxon name was *Glaestinga byrig*, i.e. the burgh of the Glaestings. The compound *glaestings* was probably formed on the same model as our modern term *hustings*, the latter element of which is the plural of the Anglo-Saxon *thing*, a council, a place of meeting; and the *glaestings* may have been buildings used for public purposes, whose walls were vitrified like those of Gatacre Hall. Perhaps also the story of the 'glass-tower in the midst of the sea,' which figures so prominently in the older Irish legends (Nennius, c. 7), may have originated in circumstances of the like kind. Though I know of no well-authenticated instance, it is certainly possible that remains of such vitrified walls may be still extant.

[1] Arch. 3. 112.

There are, however, buildings still extant which show that the Britons had other modes of remedying that want of bond which must always have been the great defect of walls constructed without mortar. When erecting a 'dry wall,' that is, one built without mortar, the workman dresses the two faces, slightly tilting the stones so as just to shed rain-water, and as he builds up the faces carefully fills in the space between them to form one solid mass. The Britons sometimes built two or three such walls in contact, so that a wall apparently fifteen feet thick might really consist of three walls, each five feet thick. Accordingly, if some of the outer stones were extracted from the bottom of the wall, instead of the whole collapsing and thus offering an open breach, the first wall only gave way, and the enemy found a second wall still opposing a perpendicular surface to his advance[1]. Curious specimens of this kind of masonry are found in the Isle of Arran, and attracted the attention of members of the British Association when they met in Ireland some years back. Other specimens have been found both in Ireland and in Great Britain[2].

Huge slabs of unwrought stone play an important part in Celtic masonry, and some have expressed their surprise how they could be procured. All quarries where the stone lies in layers will readily furnish them. Most quarries will furnish them, and when the bed of rock is bared and the 'joints' separating the different layers hit upon, the slabs may be easily detached by the working of a lever. Some-

[1] The Romans seem to have built their timber walls by first laying timbers alongside each other, and then other timbers lengthways over them. Vide Col. Traj., Montfaucon, L'Antiquité Expliquée, 4. 98, Pl. xxxvi; 4. 100, Pl. xlii.

The timbers were such as could be easily borne by one man. Even in walls of ashlar the Romans seem occasionally to have bonded by means of layers of timbers resembling somewhat the layers of Roman bricks sometimes met with. Ibid. 4. 100, Pl. xl; 4. 46, Pl. xxi.

This kind of bond seems peculiar to the Daci, who probably built dry walls, or walls of turf. Ibid. 4. 108, Pl. lix. lxi.

[2] Tate's Celtic Town at Greaves Ash, p. 6.

times[1] we find a slab built across the wall, as if it were intended to be the side of some gate or doorway. Possibly this contrivance may have been intended to give bond to the masonry, and served the same purpose as the counterforts which support the walls of a modern bastion. But in ordinary cases the slabs are ranged lengthways, and their thickness forms the entire thickness of the wall, the gaps which occur between the broken and irregular edges of adjoining slabs being filled in with smaller stones. Such is generally the construction of the walls which form the sides of the 'cromlechs' as they are called, and of the subterranean passages leading to the sepulchral chambers, so many of which are still extant. The covering stones rest on these vertical slabs, and sometimes crush them with their enormous weight.

Such shelter from the weather as could be furnished by slabs of stone resting on vertical props must have afforded scanty accommodation; and though, when covered over with earth, the structure might serve as a last resting-place for the Briton, or as a storehouse for his grain, or, it may be, as a place of refuge for him in times of danger, it must have been ill fitted for the ordinary purposes of residence. A more convenient abode was obtained by covering a circular plot with what has been called a horizontal vault. In this construction each successive layer of stones 'stepped over' that on which it rested, till the walls converged to a point over the centre of the hut, and were finally closed in by a covering stone. This kind of vaulting is of high antiquity. It is met with in the Pyramids, in the 'Treasury of Atreus' near Mycenae, in the 'Lion tomb' at Cnidos (Newton's Halicarnassus, 2. 487), in the 'Nurahges' of Sardinia, and in some of the tombs of Magna Graecia. In Britain it seems to have been the favourite mode of vaulting, even after the Romans had introduced their own peculiar forms of construction. It is found in a vaulted

[1] Tate's Celtic Town at Greaves Ash, p. 6, and Phillips' Mountains of Yorkshire, p. 28.

room which is still extant at Cilurnum (on the Wall), Chesters[1]; and the structure commonly known as 'Arthur's Oòn,' long furnished our antiquaries with a specimen of singular interest. This curious building was situate on the banks of the Carron, a little to the north of the wall of Antoninus. It was destroyed by a churlish proprietor at the beginning of the last century, but it had been previously surveyed and measured by more than one competent antiquary. It was some twenty-eight feet in diameter, and some twenty-two feet in height. The wall, four feet thick, was built of squared ashlar stones beautifully fitted to each other, but without mortar. Over the door was a window, and at the top an opening resembling that in the Pantheon at Rome. I have doubts, however, if such opening were not occasioned by the fall of some of the upper courses of stones; for, if it was originally intended to let light into the interior, it is not easy to see why a window was provided. Though this monument was certainly erected during the Roman period, there are reasons which may perhaps justify us in looking upon it as a British building. I know no work of strictly Roman origin that closely resembles it either in its general shape, or in its style of vaulting, while the British stone huts have the same shape, a window similarly situated, and a vault of the same peculiar construction.

These stone huts are found in the north and west of Britain, but generally more or less ruinated[2]; in Ireland they are met with in greater numbers, and not unfrequently in a state of almost perfect preservation. Near Ventry, in the county of Kerry, is a collection of these stone huts large enough to form a good-sized village, and some of them are still as fit for habitation as when first erected.

[1] Bruce, Roman Wall, ed. 1851, p. 173.

[2] A beehive house with roof on Pen Maen Mawr. Arch. Camb. 1st Ser. I. p. 71.

Castell Caer Leicon, a British town near Conway, "all made up of round habitations," with a citadel divided from the town by a deep trench, and contains vaulted huts. Ib. p. 72.

The doorways are low, seldom more than four feet high. and in some cases are approached by a passage equally low, formed of covering stones resting on upright slabs. There is generally an opening high in the vault, which must have served both as window and chimney, for no other means is provided either for letting in the light or letting out the smoke. Not unfrequently in the thickness of the wall are found recesses which may have served either as store-closets, or as sleeping-berths. A stone ledge runs round the inside of some of the Northumbrian huts next the wall, on which the inmates may have sat or slept; and in one case a flue passes through the thickness of the wall to the hearth in its centre. This has been described as a 'chimney,' but I have no doubt it was merely an air-hole to promote combustion. Similar contrivances are found in some of the ancient smelting furnaces.

Two or more of these bee-hive houses[1] were sometimes connected by passages arched like the huts themselves. One of such passages with the arch entire is to be seen near Zennor in Cornwall (Arch. Cambr. 1862, p. 337). When the huts stand singly the Irish call them Cloghauns; if one or more be inclosed within a circular wall, as not unfrequently happens, the group is called a Caher. Occasionally a headland jutting into the sea is isolated by walls of massive masonry, built across the neck of land, while the accommodations within are of the scantiest, and show clearly enough that the formidable defences were intended merely to protect some petty chief and his family. Sometimes there has been found a recess in the *outside* of the surrounding wall near the gate. It has been conjectured that such recess might serve as a kennel for a watch-dog (Arch. Journ. 1858, p. 18), but it seems to me much more probable that it was intended to afford a night's shelter to such as arrived too late to be admitted within the walls. A belated wayfarer might roll himself in his blanket, and

[1] 'Bee-hive houses in the Fens made of wattle and dab, and resting on stone foundations.' J. M. Heathcote's Reminiscences of Fen and Mere; p. 5.

here find a shelter from the rain, till the door-keeper arose in the morning and unbarred the gate.

The masonry employed in the construction of the stone huts varies with the locality. In Ventry a kind of ragstone is used, but in the North of England irregular blocks of whinstone or other igneous rock fitted together with a skill that reminds one of the Cyclopean walls of Italy. In the West of England the walls seem often to have been made merely of turf cased inside and out with stone.

The Gaulish hut we are told (Strabo, 4. 4. 3) resembled a 'tholos'; and the Greek *tholos*, whether intended for a kitchen, for a dining-room, or for a vapour bath, was a round vaulted apartment, not very unlike a medieval kitchen. We are told also the hut was of large dimensions. It has been stated that the 'hut-circles' found in Britain are generally from ten to sixteen feet in diameter, but I have seen hollows apparently designed for the same purpose of much greater size; and though I speak with hesitation, I am inclined to think that 'bee-hive houses' made of timber were occasionally constructed in this country of very large dimensions. We have seen that structures of stone were sometimes built to cover in a round chamber more than 30 feet in diameter, and I see no reason why bee-hive houses of great size might not be constructed of timber, if fresh ribs were introduced into the wattle-work as the building advanced, and particularly if struts were carried from side to side to prevent the walls from collapsing inwardly. I have always thought that the 'great house' of Durrow mentioned by Adamnan (Life of Columba, 3. 15) was a structure of this kind. There is little doubt it was the same building as is elsewhere (1. 29) described as 'the greater house,' a phrase which seems to show that it differed merely in size from the round huts which we know were the ordinary residences of the Irish monks at that period. In the title to chapter 15 the 'great house' is styled the round 'monasterium,' and it may have been a *proinnteach* or refectory

for the monks. As the name of Durrow meant the 'plain of oaks,' timber was no doubt the readiest material at hand for constructive purposes, and we may infer it was the material used in the construction both of the 'great house' and of the other monastic buildings around it. How a man like Petrie could imagine (Round Towers of Ireland, 383) that such phrases as the great house and the round monasterium were used to designate one of those lofty attenuated structures known as the Irish Round Towers, I am at a loss to understand. The Round Towers were certainly the invention of a later period.

The construction of such a house as we have last described must have been a work of great cost and labour. In both the cases in which the 'great house' of Durrow is mentioned it is represented as being still in course of erection. The expense of erecting such a building, and perhaps a better acquaintance with the forms of Roman architecture, may have suggested the greater convenience of quadrangular structures (Wakeman, Arch. Hib. p. 59), whose capacity might be increased to any extent by merely adding to the length without enlarging either the height or breadth. In a round house the ribs or props may have been disposed without much regard to regularity, but in a quadrangular building it is obvious that if any regard were paid either to the symmetry or to the strength of the building they must have been disposed in pairs. Conversely, when the ribs are found disposed in pairs, we may infer that the building was quadrangular. Adamnan (2. 7) tells us that in one of the conflagrations which, in those early times, appear to have been so frequent, a hut was burnt down, wherein lay a sick man, over whose bed on the wall (in pariete) hung a piece of rock-salt[1] (petra salis, ? saltpetre), which St. Columba had blest. After the fire, this portion of the wall (particula parietis) was found untouched, the fire not daring to harm the couples (binales sudes), from which hung the rock-salt, such was the virtue of the saint's bless-

[1] A petra of salt: petra = twelve pounds.

ing. Dr. Reeves—overlooking it would seem the adjective *binales*—considers the *sudes* to be the stakes or uprights which formed the skeleton of the 'hurdle wall' (Adamnan, p. 114, note), and he evidently supposes that there were vertical walls on which the roof rested. I would rather take the *sudes binales* to be a pair of curved props, or 'croks' as Chaucer would have called them, which started from the ground and met at the ridge, and served a double purpose, first as ribs to support the roof, and secondly as standards, round which was pleached the wicker-work that formed the wall. The couple from which hung the rock-salt, remained standing after the rest of the hut was consumed by the fire.

Huts built on the same principle are still to be found in England. Several years back I was shown two such in Berkshire. They had been a good deal altered, but the original construction seemed plain enough, and, as far as my memory serves me, was as follows[1]:—Three pairs of 'croks' rose from the ground to the ridge-line, and the thatch which covered them came so low as barely to admit of doors beneath the eaves. The triangular spaces included between the 'croks' and the ground, as well as the spaces between the eaves and the ground, or in other words the walls, if we may so call them, had evidently been filled in with what, in some of our counties, is called 'wattle and dab.' By this means two good-sized rooms or huts were obtained lighted by holes in the two gables, the same holes evidently serving to let out the smoke. Owing to the curvature of the props the walls bulged outwardly beneath the eaves, which gave the buildings an ungainly and ricketty appearance. In each hut two closets had been originally constructed against the partition wall, one of which may have served as a sleeping-place for the goodman and

[1] A similar cottage is described in the Hist. of Newbury, p. 221; and also in Dr. Bruce's 'Roman Wall,' p. 287 (First Edition), where it is said to represent the 'mode of cottage-building formerly prevalent in the North.' Mr. A Way has reminded me that the 'bothies' of the Scotch Highlands are of the same construction.

his wife, and the other as a pantry. The top of the closets would be accessible by means of a short ladder, and may have afforded sleeping accommodation for the children.

By keeping in view these principles of British construction, we may understand some passages in our early historians, which otherwise do not admit of an easy explanation. Bede tells us (H. E. 3. 25) that St. Finan built his church at Lindisfarne after the Scottish fashion, not of stone, but altogether of cut oak (robore secto), and covered it with reeds; and that Bishop Eadberht removed the reeds and covered the whole with lead, 'both the roof and also the walls themselves[1]' (et tectum et ipsos quoque parietes). Again, we learn from Malmesbury (Ant. Glaston., ap. Gale, p. 30c) that Paulinus ordered the old church at Glastonbury, which had been originally made of twigs, to be constructed of timber planking (ligneo tabulatu) and to be wholly covered with lead from the summit down to the very ground (usque deorsum in terram). I believe both these churches were supported on props resting on the ground. St. Finan's church, it would seem, was secured from the weather by planking resting on the props, parallel to the ridge, while the earlier British church at Glastonbury had the spaces between the props filled in with wattle-work, for which the planks were substituted by Paulinus. Each of these churches must in shape have resembled the stone church built by St. Kenan[3], or that built at Whithern by St. Ninia[4]; and consequently, when the thatched roof was removed, the

[1] The 'Minster of Mayo' (Ecclesia Maionensis) 'plumbeis asseribus contextum,' was burnt by the Northmen. Acta S. Giraldi, quoted by O'Conor, 4. 122.

When St. Malachy was building his church of *stone* a by-stander objected, 'Scoti sumus, non Galli.' O'Conor, 4. 164.

[2] The 'Treen Churches' in the Isle of Man, 20 feet by 12, or less, raised on a small artificial hillock, surrounded by a graveyard some 108 feet by 63, or larger. Walls both of church (cabbal (capella) or keeill (cella)) and of graveyard (keeilleig) made of sods, stones, and earth; 'roof constructed of sods laid on branches of trees or else thatched with heather or straw.' The door two and half feet wide at base, two feet at top. Walls, now standing, about three feet high. Arch. Cambr., July 1866, p. 270.

[3] Petrie, Round Towers, p. 130. [4] Bede, H. E. 3. 4.

necessity of covering the whole building with lead 'down to the very ground' is obvious.

The Britons occasionally made themselves houses, or rather sleeping-berths, of timber. A curious specimen of these timber structures was discovered by Captain W. Mudge in Drumkelin bog, county Donegal (Arch. 26. 362), A.D. 1833, in a state of wonderful preservation, the growth of the bog having penetrated into every crevice, and thereby prevented decay[1].

Sleepers formed by splitting in two a young oak some 2 feet in diameter were laid on a bed of sea-sand, with the round part uppermost. Uprights were let into holes or mortises roughly cut in the sleepers, and also into an upper rail. The sides of the building consisted of planks resting edgeways one on another. Two pieces of timber mortised into the sleeper and the upper rail kept these planks from slipping outwards, while two others similarly secured kept them from slipping inwards. Horizontal timbers were passed through holes in the sleepers, the uprights, and the upper rails, and on these horizontal timbers rested layers of planks, the lowermost and intermediate layers serving as floors, and the uppermost as a ceiling. The planks were kept in their place merely by their weight, those forming the floors being from 4 to 6, and the covering planks from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 inches thick. There was reason to think that a mixture of sand and

[1] A.D. 1867 at Aughamore near Granard was found another such house, 'under water in an exhausted bay at a considerable depth beneath the surface. It measures 23 by 10, and consists of eight very strong beams ranging in length from 10 to 13 feet, which are supported by cross-beams of great length and firmly jointed. The side-beams are firmly mortised, as if intended for uprights. In the interior of this house there was a large trough, which appears to have been scooped out of one solid block, and has a hole at one end, as it would seem for the purpose of letting off some liquid matter; there was also a cover for it, and there was a flooring consisting of some hardened matter which I presume was not asphalte. This house was necessarily taken asunder in the process of raising, but Mr. Garry has very properly preserved the parts, which are in good condition, and can be put together again,' &c. Corresp. of Freeman's Journal, quoted in Record, Aug. 7, 1867.

grease had been used to fill up the interstices between the planks of the lower floor with the view of keeping out the damp; and it was conjectured that the same means had been resorted to in order to make the ceiling planks weather-tight. But no flat roof[1] so constructed could in our climate have kept out the rain, and there can be little doubt it was shot off by what in the Midland Counties is called a 'dead roof,' i. e. by means of brushwood, &c. heaped up on the covering boards, pyramid fashion, and then probably thatched. The brushwood, &c. may have been removed by those who dug peat in the bog, before they were aware of the curious structure which lay beneath.

This piece of framework was 12 feet square and 9 feet high, and the 'dead roof' probably gave to it an additional height of 8 or 9 feet. It was divided into two compartments open in front, and each about 4 feet high in the clear. The upper one may have been the sleeping-place of the family, and the under one a store-room. Those who erected it must have been well acquainted with the use of the tenon and mortise, and with at least the rudiments of that branch of carpentry which goes by the name of 'framing.' The *planks* were no doubt obtained by ripping up young trees with the wedge, and then roughly smoothing them with an adze. Rails used for field purposes are still obtained in the same rough way. The implements employed were evidently of the rudest kind. In one of the floors was found a stone chisel, whose size and shape agreed well with the marks left on the mortises, and which was probably used in making them. There was also found an arrowhead of flint, which indicates no less clearly a remote antiquity. The building may have been constructed some centuries before the Christian aera.

The domicile we have been describing seems to have had adjoining it a kind of court-yard measuring twelve feet every way, paved with slabs of stone resting on wooden sleepers. On one side were two projecting oak planks, mortised appa-

[1] See examples of flat roofs; Col. Traj. Montfaucon, 4. pl. lx. lv.

rently to receive the upright jambs of a door. Thence a pathway 30 feet long, and formed of shingle and sand, led to a hearth where charcoal was found, and large quantities of nuts. Some 150 feet from the building were the remains of a hedge or breastwork 5 feet high, formed of rough spars secured with stakes 8 or 10 feet long, and near it two doors of oak, each 4 feet 6 inches high, 2 feet 7 inches broad, and 4 inches thick. Each door had tenons, on which it evidently had revolved. These substitutes for hinges seem to have been in common use, during the first five or six centuries, throughout the whole of the Romanized world. In the ancient villages lately discovered in the Hauran are still found stone doors *in situ*, and which may still be turned on their tenons. In Glendalough there was some years back, and probably still is, a mortised stone over the door of one of the churches, evidently intended for the church door to revolve on.

Near this building were the remains of other dwellings, but the influx of water rendered further exploration difficult, and it was not attempted. The houses seem to have been erected on the bog for the sake of security (Strabo 4. 3. 5), as immediately at hand were sites well fitted for residence. What was the nature of the catastrophe which forced the inhabitants to fly, and so soon covered over their dwelling-places with peat, we do not know. The new growth of the bog must have been rapid, or the upper parts of the building would have shown more marks of decay.

While mentioning the subject of tenons and mortises, we may observe that they were occasionally used, and at an early period, in structures of stone. In the trilithons of Stonehenge each upright is capped with a neatly-rounded protuberance or tenon, which fits into a corresponding socket or mortise in the impost. Any tendency in the impost to slide from the position to which it has been elevated is thus effectually prevented.

That we may have a more clear perception of the principles which distinguished British construction from that

adopted by other tribes dwelling near the Roman frontier, it may be well to say a few words on the construction of the huts built by the Daci and the Quadi during the first and second centuries. As far as we can gather from the representations on the Trajan and Antonine columns, the walls were formed of vertical timbers, tied together horizontally by what seems to be a thick rope or cable, somewhat resembling, it may be, the way in which the Maories bind together the timbers of their stockades with strands of the New Zealand flax (phormium tenax). We find these wooden walls used by the Daci in the construction not only of their round huts, but also of their forts. One or two cables encircling a hut would of course greatly strengthen the walls, and oppose a strong resistance to the 'horizontal thrust' of the conical roof. But, indeed, the roof as generally represented is so flat that we can hardly help suspecting it was merely a 'dead roof,' that is, branches, &c. heaped on a flat ceiling to shoot off the rain.

In the Zurich Transactions (Band xii and xiii) Herr Keller has given us his notions of the huts which were erected on the piles, remains of which have lately been discovered in the Swiss Lakes. His notions on this subject have been adopted by Sir Charles Lyell, who introduces Herr Keller's sketch as a frontispiece to the work on the Antiquity of Man. One of the buildings represents the kind of hut used in the lake-dwellings of the New Guinea islanders, and is an intelligible structure. Another, which is circular in form, has its walls formed by upright stakes, apparently two or three feet asunder, and connected together with wattle-work. How walls so built could support the huge conical roof Herr Keller places on them, neither he nor Sir Charles Lyell informs us. A 'dead roof' would crush such a wall with its weight, and one supported by converging props would at once thrust it outwards. I doubt whether all the skill of modern carpentry could keep such a roof in its place for a single hour, and Sir Charles Lyell, I presume, wishes his reader to consider the construction a work of

'the primeval man.' One of the two remaining huts is no less evidently a castle in the air. No living man could make it stand upon the earth. That we may see more clearly the nature of this construction, it may be well to notice briefly the way in which an ordinary modern roof is put together.

Two pieces of timber, resting on the opposite ends of a beam, are inclined to each other till they meet at an angle corresponding to the pitch of the proposed roof. They are then strongly braced to each other and to the beam, and are called a 'pair of principals.' The triangular frame of timber thus formed is placed upright on the two side walls, the beam bridging over the space between. Other pairs of principals are placed at suitable distances from the first pair, according to the number of 'bays' required for the building. Pieces of timber called 'side-pieces' or 'purlins,' are then fastened horizontally across from one pair of principals to the other, and upon these purlins the rafters are nailed parallel to the principals, and upon the rafters are nailed the laths. The roof, whether of thatch, tile, or slate, rests primarily upon the laths, which rest on the rafters, which rest on the purlins, which themselves rest on the principals. As the whole weight of the roof is thus made to rest ultimately on the principals, and as these are tied together by the beam, a very effectual means of resistance is provided against that much-dreaded evil, the horizontal thrust.

This beautiful construction was no doubt a legacy of the Romans. That it was never used to cover in the round hut of the Briton is clear, both from its scientific character and its evident unsuitableness for the purpose, but it has been steadily gaining ground upon the old Celtic modes of construction, till only a few scattered traces of the latter can now be found even in those parts of the British islands where the Celtic population has been least disturbed by foreign admixture. The change, however, has been a slow one. Even when quadrangular buildings were introduced,

it seems to have been long before the Celtic races in this island generally raised roofs upon vertical walls[1].

Our ancestors appear to have adopted this Roman custom long before their Welsh neighbours. The old church at Greenstead shows us how Englishmen of the tenth and eleventh centuries proceeded when they had to erect a house of timber. Stout squared uprights were ranged side by side, and mortised into horizontal timbers at top and bottom, so as to form a strong wall, on which either a dead roof or one made after the Roman fashion could securely rest. Of the like kind may have been the construction of the wooden church which Paulinus erected at York (Bede, H. E. 2. 14) after the conversion of Edwin and the Northumbrian English.

When the medieval architects invented the 'collar-beam,' in order to increase the apparent height of their interiors, and instead of the tie-beam which connected the principals together at their extremities, and a beam which connected them at some point intermediate between their extremities and the ridge, the means of resisting the horizontal thrust were greatly diminished, and the tendency in the principals to fly outwards had to be counteracted by increased strength of buttress on the exterior. In some medieval halls and refectories, particularly in counties where stone was scarce and timber abounded, the walls were built so low that the principals seem almost to start from the ground, and in certain cases the whole building appears to be made up of roof, and has been likened not inappropriately to the ribbed hull of a ship turned bottom uppermost[2]. I believe that some of these

[1] 'The hall was 30 fathoms long and 10 broad. Away from it and to the south stood the bower of Auda and Asgerda, and there the two sat sewing,' &c. Gisli the Outlaw, translated by Dasent, p. 29.

There were 'earth-houses' or places of concealment in Iceland. Vide Gisli the Outlaw, p. 91, and elsewhere, jarð-hús.

[2] 'Parvum tugurium inter arenas conspicio, cujus tectum, sicut Sallustius ait, quasi carina navis erat contiguum terrae, satis firmis tabulis constratum,' &c. Sulp. Severus, Dial. 1. 2. Vide account of Abbot's barn at Wigmore Abbey. Arch. Camb. July 1871, p. 236.

medieval halls in their general aspect strongly resembled the four-sided halls which were erected in this country before Roman modes of construction became prevalent, and it is even possible that old Welsh structures may in some measure have influenced the development of these architectural features in later times, for they are chiefly found in buildings erected in the neighbourhood of the Welsh border.

The 'Pictish burghs,' as they are called, are low towers generally some twenty-two feet in diameter, and from twenty to twenty-three feet high. They consist of two concentric walls of dry masonry, the outer one inclining inwardly, the inner one nearly perpendicular. The interval between the walls at the ground is generally about six feet, but it grows gradually less till the walls unite at top. The space between the walls is divided by slabs of stone, which stretch from wall to wall, and bind the whole together. In some cases the slabs are so dispersed as to form a winding ascent, by which the top of the burgh might be reached. In other cases the slabs are ranged horizontally so as to form stories, one over the other, which might be accessible from the interior by means of a ladder, the several stories serving as storehouses, sleeping-berths, &c. On the outside of the burgh the only opening was a low door, but in the inside there were often doors and windows to give light or access to the small rooms in the thickness of the wall. The interior of the burgh was open to the sky.

These burghs are found in the district which is generally supposed to have been inhabited by the Picts. Several of them are still in fair preservation, and were occasionally resorted to as places of defence as late as the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

The peculiar structure of the Pictish burghs may help us, I think, to a solution of some of the difficulties which surround another class of Celtic ruins. Edin's Hall, near Dunse, in Berwickshire, consists of three concentric walls, each 7 feet thick. The inner circle is 40 feet in diameter;

the interval between the innermost and the second wall 7 feet, and that between the second and third or outermost wall 10 feet. 'The spaces between these walls have been arched over and divided into cells of 12, 16, and 20 feet long; they seem to have been of considerable height, but, as all the roofs have long since fallen in, the height cannot be precisely ascertained. The space within the inner circle seems never to have had any roof, as there are no fragments nor ruins there. The building is not cemented with any sort of mortar; the stones, which are whin, and many of them very large, are all grooved into one another, that is, the concavity of the one receiving the convexity of the other, so that they are locked together, and yet all these locks are different[1].' From this description I think we may restore the old building. Northumbrian kings, in the eighth and ninth centuries, did not disdain the shelter afforded by this rude castle.

The walls of dry masonry surrounding the hill fortresses of Wales often contain cells, evidently designed for habitation. Examples may be found at Carn Goch upon Penmaen Mawr, and at Tre-yr-Ceiri on the Eifl in Carnarvonshire. In other cases, as at Ventry[2], we find a narrow passage-like space left in the middle of the wall near a conic gateway. The opening, after running a few yards, closes up, and the sides gradually slope to each other till they meet, and are then carried up as a solid wall. These narrow spaces have given rise to much guesswork, but I have little doubt were intended merely as a retreat for the parties to shelter themselves in from the weather.

There was a kind of walling which seems to have come into use at a somewhat later period than the ordinary dry wall. Two rows of slabs were ranged parallel to each other, and the interior filled in with smaller stones. These walls are now more or less ruinated; but when perfect the wall, when it reached the tops of the slabs, was probably

[1] Statistical account of Scotland, 4. 389.

[2] Compare the houses near Chun Castle, vide Arch. Camb., Oct. 1862, p. 337.

carried upwards like an ordinary dry wall. There are examples at—

Lligwy, Anglesey. Archaeol. Cambr., Jan. 1867, p. 54.
Dinas Dinorwig, Carnarvonshire. Ib. July 1861, p. 236.
Carnbrae, Cornwall, Account of by Sir Gardner Wilkinson in 'The Trans. of one of the Cornish Societies.' Ib. p. 239.
Din Sylwy, Anglesey:—13 acres. Roman coins and other Roman remains, buckles, &c. Arch. Camb. Jan. 1869, pp. 56, 60.

The site of an ancient British village is generally marked by certain hollows, to which modern antiquaries have given the name of hut-circles. They mostly vary from 10 to 16 feet in diameter, and from 2 to 3 feet in depth; and when the nature of the soil is such as is little affected by the action of the weather, they occasionally exhibit a very definite outline more or less circular. When these hut-circles are cleared out, rude pavements are sometimes met with, together with charred wood mixed with the bones of the deer, ox, or boar. What kind of construction was used to cover in the humble dwellings we will now inquire.

The Britons were early celebrated for their wicker-work. From the epigram of Martial (14. 99), and the name bascauda (*bas-gawd*, W.), we may gather that the Romans imported their baskets from Britain, and this, their native handicraft, seems to have been used by the Britons as late as the seventh century in the construction of their buildings. The 'Old Church' at Glastonbury was first made of twigs ('primo virgea,' W. Malms. Ant. Glast., p. 300[1]), and the legends of St. Kevin and other early Irish saints represent their dwellings and oratories as of like construction. If the props that must have supported both the wicker-work and also the thatched roof, which of course covered in the whole[2], were inclined to each so as to meet in a point, they would exhibit a tendency to spread under the weight

[1] Vide Adamn. p. 106. See above, pp. 70, 73.

[2] 'Aedificia constituuntur in Gallia, Hispania, Lusitania, Aquitania, scandulis robusteis aut stramentis.' Vitruv. lib. ii. c. 1.

'In casas quae more Gallico stramentis erant tectae.' B. G. 5. 43.

laid upon them. This tendency to spread out laterally when a weight rests on sloping props is a well-known evil, and called by builders 'the lateral pressure,' or the 'horizontal thrust.' The readiest mode of counteracting it in such a construction as the British hut would be that which the Britons seem to have adopted. Selecting with care a dry site they dug a round hole of the required dimensions, and then ranged the props within it so as to make them meet over the centre—the sides of the hole[1] effectually preventing any tendency in the props to slide outwards.

Strabo (4. 4. 3) speaks of the 'huge roof' of the Gaulish hut, which we know from Caesar (B. G. 5. 12) the British hut resembled. It is probable that the principal props were young trees of good height, and that they were fixed so as to be not very greatly inclined from the perpendicular. As cattle were no doubt frequent visitors of the British villages, the eaves must necessarily have been above the browsing line, that is, at the least, 6 feet from the ground; but as the Britons would naturally wish to shelter as much of these wicker-houses as possible with the thatched roof, we may conclude that each hut was covered with a high tapering roof reaching as low as circumstances would allow. From the analogy of the stone buildings we may infer that the doorway was a low opening not much more than 4 feet high, and that there was an opening in the roof which served both as window and chimney. The sides of the hut between the eaves and the ground may have been protected from the weather by a wall of sods, or the wattle-work may have been plastered over with clay and chopped straw according to a custom which still prevails in some of our agricultural districts.

*   *   *   *   *   *   *

[1] The Armenian huts were constructed so as to be at least partially subterranean. The cattle descended into them by means of excavated passages, and the men by ladders. Diod. 14. 28.

[*Notes on Celtic burials.*]

In the year 1852, the Rev. W. Greenwell of Durham noticed incised markings of a peculiar character on certain rocks in Northumberland; Mr. Tate of Alnwick soon afterwards traced them in other localities, and they have since engaged the attention of Dr. Bruce of Newcastle and Sir J. Simpson of Edinburgh. The markings consisted of shallow cup-like cavities and of concentric circles. The cups, though sometimes ranged in lines, are mostly scattered over the surface without any apparent order, and the concentric circles with a few exceptions have a groove running from the centre over the several circumferences and terminating beyond them, like a protruded tongue. In certain districts the circles are not continuous, but have gaps through which the groove passes from the centre outwards, without cutting any circumference. The groove is often prolonged so as to meet some other groove or grooves, and thus to bind, as it were, together two or more systems of concentric circles. In the later sculptures other curves than the circular seem to have been introduced, but there is always a tendency to concentricity, in other words, a certain relation in the several curves to some given point.

The connexion between these rude carvings and the more elaborate attempts at ornamentation which are found at New-Grange in Ireland, and on some of the Celtic tombs in Brittany is sufficiently obvious. But the endeavour that has been made to extract from the carvings a symbolical signification appears to me a failure. I cannot trace in them any recondite meaning, and must confess it seems to me ingenuity thrown away to try to connect them with any system of ancient symbolism, whether Druidical or Phoenician. They were probably rude attempts to give a kind of ornamentation to a surface by the iteration of certain simple marks dispersed more or less symmetrically; and I should as soon think of extracting a mystery from them as from the tattoo of the New Zealander, or the hut-carvings of the South-sea islander. But the groove or tongue

proceeding from the centre of the circles certainly gives a peculiar character to these early carvings, and may perhaps justify us in drawing the conclusion that the districts in which they occur were at one time in the occupation of races of cognate origin, or at least of races closely connected together by social or trading intercourse.

There is one figure sometimes met with which may perhaps admit of explanation. We not unfrequently find an axe[1] traced on the slabs used in the construction of ancient sepulchral chambers, and in a certain Breton tomb[2], the axe —apparently a stone axe—is sculptured in *relief* on the underside of the covering slab, immediately above where the body lay. Now there are many inscriptions, on Gaulish tombs erected during the first three centuries, which contain the formula 'sub ascia,' under the axe; and sometimes we have the axe sculptured either with or without the formula. May not the formula on the later tombs and the rude figure of an axe on the earlier ones indicate that the place was consecrated, and that whoever was guilty of violating it made himself liable to capital punishment.

There is one peculiarity in Celtic burials which, though not noticed by classical authors, appears to have been very prevalent. I mean the custom of enclosing the body in some earthy substance, generally gypsum or clay. Mr. Warne, who has lately investigated the Dorsetshire tumuli, tells us the bodies were found 'enclosed in red clay both under and over, and to prevent the mixture of other mould with that clay the graves were fenced on the sides with slates, and then covered with stones, sometimes five or six upon one sepulture. Dukes (Antiq. of Shropshire, p. 150) makes a like remark with respect to the Romano-British burials at Wroxeter. Sometimes, probably in districts where clay was not readily procurable, another material was used. Again, Moryson (Fynes Moryson) says

[1] I have seen it stated that the slabs contained figures of the axe and 'other weapons.' The axe is always plain enough, but I have not yet succeeded in making out the 'other weapons.'

[2] Vide Arch. 25. 232.

'neither have they (the Irish) any beer made of malt and hops, nor yet any ale, no not the chief lords, except it be very rarely; but they drink milk like nectar, warmed with a *stone first cast into the fire,* or else beef-broath mingled with milk' (Crofton Croker's ed. of the Tour of M. de la Boullaye le Gouz, p. 39). In the York museum there is a Romano-British skeleton lying in a coffin filled with a substance which, if I can trust my memory, is a kind of white marl; and occasionally sand was used (Arch. Journal, 1867, p. 60). In the Roman coffin found at Westminster were masses of a pasty substance like lumps of quick lime, which time had slaked and made into a paste (Arch. Journ. 1870, pp. 120, 192). In the coffin found at Bow in 1865 there was apparently a layer of lime (Ib. and Soc. Ant. 2nd series, vol. iii, p. 124). There was another instance at Maidstone (Arch. 29, p. 422); another at Chesterford (Gough, Sep. Mon. Introd. vol. ii. p. 9); another at York (Soc. Ant. vol. iii. p. 273; Wellbeloved's Eburacum, p. 109). In the Bury, near Ware, were coffins east and west, and Roman coins (Gent. Mag. vol. lxii. part i. p. 392). At Dartford Brent, the body was embedded in white plaster, so as to show the features; the substance *not* lime, but gypsum (Arch. Inst. 1870, p. 193). The subject has been treated, and as usual exhausted, by Mr. A. Way (Arch. Inst. 1870, p. 189). This mode of burial seems still to prevail in Ireland. The Rev. T. Dixon [1], himself formerly a Romish priest, mentions among the exactions of the Romish priests in Ireland, 'the charge of three and fourpence for blessing every lump of clay to be put into a coffin.' I have been told that the superstition is still common in the wilder districts.

[*Notes on religious observances among the Celts.*]

Caesar tells us that when the Gauls were attacked by serious illness, or were hard pressed in war, they immolated or vowed to immolate some one, believing that the gods

[1] Lect. on the Doctrines of the Church of Rome, 1828. Dublin, Curry and Co.

could only be appeased by giving life for life; and in these sacrifices they used the ministrations of the Druids (B. G. 6. 16). Some Gaulish tribes made huge figures of wicker work, and filled the different limbs with living men, and burnt them. They considered thieves and robbers to be the offerings most acceptable to the gods, but if these were lacking they offered innocent persons (Ib.). Diodorus informs us (5. 31) that they foretold things to come by observing the flight of birds, and by the sacrifice of victims; and that they had the whole multitude obedient to them. In particular when they consulted on important matters they had a strange custom, hard to be believed, for having devoted some one for the purpose, they struck him on the midriff with a sword, and when the stricken man had fallen, they prognosticated the future from the nature of the fall, and the convulsions of the limbs, and also from the flow of the blood, pinning their faith on certain ancient and time-honoured observances in these matters. It is customary with them to offer no sacrifice without a philosopher, for they say they ought to bring thank-offerings to the gods by the hands of those who are acquainted with the divine nature, and who, as it were, speak the same language; and by these too they think that blessings should be asked for them. In these men they put the greatest trust, whether friends or enemies, both in affairs of peace and in their wars. And oftentimes, when armies are approaching each other in battle array, with swords drawn and spears in rest, they come forwards into the midst and stop them, &c.

Strabo has left us an account of certain rites observed by the Kimbroi, whose invasion of the Roman provinces, about a century before his time, was still remembered with terror. His account has for us a special interest, inasmuch as there is reason to believe there was a very close connexion between this people and our modern Welshmen.

They relate the following as one of the customs of the Kimbroi: 'Attending on their women, who went with them to the wars, were certain prophetesses—gray-headed

priestesses, clad in white, with linen cloaks buckled round them, having brazen girdles and going barefoot. These passing through the camp, sword in hand, met the captives, and having crowned them led them to a brazen cauldron, holding some twenty amphorae[1]. They had steps, which, having ascended, one that bent over the cauldron, cut the throat of each as he was raised up, and from the blood poured into the cauldron they made a certain divination. But the others cut open the body and consulted the entrails, proclaiming aloud victory for their friends' (Strabo 7. 2. 3). When the Kimbroi sent an embassy to Augustus asking his forgiveness and friendship, as a proof of their sincerity they sent him as a present a cauldron which they held most sacred. This cauldron there can be little doubt was one used for the dreadful purposes above mentioned. In the Welsh poems of the thirteenth century frequent mention is made of the cauldron of Cendwen. Whether this personage were witch, sorceress, or goddess may be a question. But it is not improbable that in her mystic cauldron we have some faint traces of the terrible rites demanded by the cruel superstition of an earlier age.

* * * * * * *

From the Irish *neamh*, heaven, comes the adj. *neamhaidh*, divine, and with this word is probably connected the Old Celtic *nemetum*, a temple. Fortunatus (Poemat. 1. 9. 9) tells us that Ver-nemetis meant the great temple, *Ver* being an augmentative prefix. August-o-nemetum (Clermont) was long celebrated for its temple (Vasso), (Greg. of Tours, 1. 30), and Dru-nemeton (Strabo, 12. 5. 1, p. 567) in Asiatic Galatia probably was the temple of the Oak-wood, *derw*, W. oaks.

* * * * * * *

[*Notes on the walls of Hadrian and Severus.*]

Spartian wrote the lives of both Hadrian and Severus. In his life of Hadrian he tells us that the Britons

[1] An amphora contained 9 gallons, so that the cauldron must have been of great size. The coppers used by modern laundresses rarely contain more than 40 gallons.

could not be kept in subjection, and that the Emperor went to Britain, where 'he put many things to rights, and was the first to carry a *murus* over eighty miles of country[1] to separate the barbarians from the Romans.' We are further told that Hadrian went from Britain to Gaul, and thence to Spain, where he spent the winter, and that 'he then and often at other times in many places where the barbarians were separated from the Empire, not by rivers but by *limites*, took measures for keeping them apart by means of large stakes driven into the ground and fastened together after the manner of a wall-fence.' From this passage Camden inferred that Hadrian's British *murus*[2] was a wall of turf strengthened with palisades.

Capitolinus was a contemporary of Spartian, and like him one of the six writers whose collective works are known as the Augustan History. He wrote the life of Antoninus Pius, from which we learn that 'that emperor conquered also the Britons through the exertions of his Legate, Lollius Urbicus, the barbarians having been removed and another *murus* of turf carried across the country.' No one now questions that the *murus* of turf here referred to was that which ran between the Forth and the Clyde, and the passage has been quoted to show that the earlier wall of Hadrian was also made of turf, and therefore could not be the wall of stone, remains of which may still be traced in the north of England.

These are, I believe, the only instances in which a classical writer has mentioned or made any allusion to the wall of Hadrian. The references to the wall of Severus are some-

[1] 'Murumque per octoginta millia passuum primus duxit.'

[2] Much misconception has been occasioned by a statement in Bede (Hist. Eccl. I. 5) to the effect that *murus* meant a stone wall, and *vallum* a wall of turf. Murus really signified a wall generally, of whatever materials constructed; and classical writers do not hesitate to speak of a 'murus of turf.' *Vallum* meant primarily a line of *valli* or stakes, but in popular usage it denoted the wall of earth, fortified with stakes, that surrounded a Roman camp, and indeed any line of military defence. In the Itinerary and the Notitia it was used to denote the Roman lines between the Tyne and Solway; and we know that the main defence of these lines consisted of a wall of stone.

what more explicit. Spartian, in his life of that Emperor, tells us that he 'fortified Britain with a *murus* carried across the island to the sea-shore on both sides, which was the greatest glory of his reign, and whence also he obtained the name of Britannicus;' and in another place 'after he had laid down the *murus* at the *vallum* in Britain.' It has been argued from this passage that a *vallum* must have existed before the *murus* built by Severus, and that such *vallum* was the turf-wall made by Hadrian; and whatever meaning we give to the word *vallum* I think we must infer that some military line of defence existed before Severus constructed his *murus*.

Three principal hypotheses have been started with respect to the history of these walls. According to the first, Hadrian drew a 'praetentura' from the Tyne to the Solway; Lollius Urbicus, the lieutenant of Antoninus Pius, made a vallum of earth from the Forth to the Clyde; and Severus afterwards built a wall of stone in the place where, if Camden 'were not mistaken,' Hadrian's wall had been. This was the hypothesis adopted, at least in substance, by all the older antiquaries, and perhaps we may be allowed to give it the name of our greatest, and call it the Camden hypothesis. Alexander Gordon (Itin. Sept. p. 71), who visited the wall in 1727, was of opinion that from Segedunum near Wallsend, to Benwell Hill near Newcastle, Severus built his wall upon the line of Hadrian's work, but that from Benwell Hill their different tracks might be seen almost the whole way westward. Gordon evidently thought that the line of earthwork which runs south of the wall was the 'murus' raised by Hadrian. Stukeley, who visited the wall in 1758, denied that the earthwork was Hadrian's, and maintained that it formed one system of fortification with the stone-wall, and was intended to repel attacks from the south (Iter Bor. 59). Horsley elaborately maintained Gordon's hypothesis, and made it so completely his own that we may perhaps be justified in calling it by his name. Hodgson, the historian of Northumberland, maintained with Stukeley

that the wall and earthwork formed one system of fortification, but he attributed the erection of the whole to Hadrian. This hypothesis has been called 'The Aelian' from Hadrian's name—Publius Aelius Hadrianus. Supported by the enthusiasm of Dr. Bruce, it has become the most widely known, and perhaps we may say the one most generally accepted by our modern antiquaries.

In discussing the nature of the Roman earthworks we should distinguish between the vallum which surrounded a temporary camp and the more formidable works which were raised to defend the permanent camp or to separate the territory of the Empire from the barbarous tribes around it. At the end of a day's march, officers specially appointed for the purpose traced out a temporary camp, and the soldiers dug a ditch five feet deep around it, throwing the soil inwards so as to form a mound or breastwork. This mound they fortified with 'valli' or stakes, whence the mound was styled a vallum. The valli had their ends and spurs sharpened, and as each soldier carried three or four of them in addition to his arms and provisions, they were probably mere saplings of some tough wood selected for the purpose. It is obvious that these valli could not be securely planted in the loose soil thrown up out of the ditch[1], and they were in all likelihood fixed in the solid earth at the foot of the mound. Many of these temporary camps are still extant and are occasionally found in the North of Britain in a state of remarkable preservation.

The mounds intended as permanent lines of defence seem to have been withdrawn several feet from the edge of the ditch. In all existing remains of these monuments such is found to be the case; for example, in the wall of Antoninus between the Forth and the Clyde[2]; in the earthworks connected with the wall of Severus[3], and also in the great

[1] Mr. G. Long plants them on 'the crest of the agger.' See his edition of Caesar's Bell. Gall. p. 113.

[2] General Roy, Military Antiquities, Pl. 35.

[3] Merivale, Quarterly Review, Jan. 1860, p. 124.

limes which ran between the Rhine and the Danube[1]. From the classical writers we learn that palisades formed a very important part of the defence, but a singular difference of opinion exists as to the place where the palisades were fixed (Hyginus, Roy, Plate 44. Fig. 6). According to a writer in the 'Quarterly Review[2],' the vallum which accompanied the German limes was 'crowned with such a palisade,' while another gentleman who has written an essay on the limes fixes the palisades in the ditch[3]. Those who maintain the first hypothesis have to explain how the palisades could be firmly fixed in new-made earth, and also what was to prevent the enemy's scaling them in that position if made low enough for the defenders to hurl their javelins over them. On the other hand the facilities which would be afforded for passing the ditch if the palisades were placed in it are strong arguments against the second hypothesis.

The passage in Bede, to which we have already alluded[4], may perhaps lead us to a solution of the difficulty, though it opens with a statement that certainly requires correction. 'A murus is made of stone, but a vallum with which camps are defended to repel the attack of enemies is made of turves. These being cut from the land, there is raised, as it were, a murus high on the land, so that in front is a ditch from which the turves have been extracted, above which (i.e. the ditch) there are set in front palisades (*sudes*) of the stoutest timber' (H. E. I. 5)[5]. From his use of the last phrase it is clear that Bede was thinking not of a temporary but of a permanent camp, and it seems to be no

[1] Quarterly Review, Jan. 1860, p. 137.

[2] Ibid. p. 138. Our antiquaries generally place them on the top of the mound. Such also is the opinion of the Emperor of the French, &c.

[3] There is *some* authority for saying that the Greeks placed the valli *in* the ditch: ἐν δὲ σκόλοπας κατέπηξεν, Il. 9. 350; but περὶ is another reading.

[4] See above, p. 89.

[5] 'Murus etenim de lapidibus, vallum vero quo ad repellendam vim hostium castra muniuntur fit de cespitibus, quibus circumcisis e terrâ velut murus extruitur altus supra terram, ita ut in ante sit fossa de quâ levati sunt cespites, supra quam sudes de lignis fortissimis praefiguntur.' H. E. I. 5.

less clear that according to his notions the *sudes* were fixed above the ditch and in front of the agger. By this arrangement the palisades could be firmly fixed in solid earth, while the approach to them would be fully commanded from the agger.

The wall runs nearly parallel to the Tyne from Wallsend to Chesters (Cilurnum), on the North Tyne. If therefore a party of marauders broke through it at any point between these two places, they must have found themselves in the narrow slip of country lying between the wall and the Tyne, and unable to proceed southward unless they first crossed a broad and difficult river. Further to the west there was no such bar to their southward progress, and accordingly it was on this western portion of the wall that the attacks of the northern freebooters seem to have been chiefly directed. East of Cilurnum, Severus appears to have found the stations along the wall in a state of fair preservation, for he retained them as parts of the new works he was constructing. But west of Cilurnum the stations must have been in ruins, for we find the gates and mile-castles disposed with little or no reference to them. East of Carrow-brough (Procolitia), and almost close to its walls, there is a mile-castle; and east of Magnis are the remains of a gate which must have been built specially to accommodate the traffic that passed along the Maiden-way. Had these stations been standing, they would surely have been utilized by the Roman engineers, and the expense of building a mile-castle and a fortified gate in the wall avoided. At Housesteads, or Borcovicus, as our antiquarians call it, the wall runs along the northern face of the station, but was evidently a subsequent erection for the sides of the station, instead of running straight into the wall curve round at the angles according to the usual practice when a fort is disengaged. The location of a station at Stanwix seems to me decisive as to the then condition of Luguvallia. Carlisle must have been a heap of ruins when the Romans marked out a new station as its substitute on the other side of the Eden. Several of

these ruined stations were no doubt rebuilt after the wall was constructed, and tranquillity secured to the neighbourhood. From the nature of the masonry it is probable that Housesteads was re-edified very soon, if not immediately after the completion of the wall, and its restoration may have been contemplated even when the wall was designed.

* * * * * * *

[*Celtic dress and arms*]

The three principal articles of ancient dress were the *braccae* or trowsers, the tunic or body garment, and the cloak. The use of the braccae was confined to barbarians, and so opposed to Roman customs that when a province became Romanized, it was commonly said 'to lay aside the braccae.' The tunic generally reached to the knee, and was often the sole covering worn, especially during hours of labour or of active exercise. Certain of the ruder tribes—the Germans for example, in the time of Tacitus (German. 17)—wore only the cloak or blanket, and the same simple attire sometimes sufficed the Greek and the Roman.

The braccae as worn by the Sarmatae and some of the neighbouring tribes were wide and loose. They resembled trowsers worn by the Cossack, and were generally gathered in at the ankles. But the braccae worn by the Gauls and Britons, as may be gathered partly from the description of the classical writers and partly from the figures on Roman monuments, fitted pretty closely to the leg and were left open at the ankles like our modern trowsers. The Gaulish tunic reached barely to the buttocks, and seems to have been slit in front.

The Roman soldier was shod with hob-nailed sandals, secured by leathern thongs above the ankle, and generally wore slops or drawers fitting tightly and reaching below the knee. His body was protected by a leathern cuirass drawn together with straps, or by a shirt of scale-armour with sleeves barely covering the shoulder. The skull-cap was of iron, and the shield, 4 feet long and 2½ feet across,

was very commonly made concave, so as to fit more closely to the body. His weapons of defence were two 'pila,' and a short sword called 'the Spanish' (Pol. 6. 23), so called no doubt from the temper of its blade. The pilum was barely 6 feet long, and could be used either as a hand-pike or a missile. The sword was a strong two-edged pointed weapon and, as Polybius again and again tells us, was as well fitted for stabbing as for cutting. It hung from a shoulder-belt on the right side, and it is well to note this, for it shows how short the sword must have been. A long sword hanging on the right side could not have been drawn by the right hand. In the 'Scipio shield,' the Spaniards carry their swords on the *left* thigh (Montfaucon, 4, p. 55). The Belgae carried their *long* sword on the right side (Strab. 4. 4). The blade of the Roman sword was rarely more than 16 inches long.

Such was the legionary veteran, as he is described by Polybius, and as he appears on the columns of Trajan and Antoninus, and on the arch of Severus. There were also spearmen in the legion, but it was the men who carried the pilum that gave it its most marked characteristic. The advantages of their equipment are best seen when it is compared with that of other soldiers. The Roman weapons were stronger and heavier than the Greek ('Graeculum ferrum,' Flor. 2. 7), and handier and more serviceable than those of some other races. The pilum could be used in a woodland when the long spear which was the favourite weapon in some armies was almost useless (Livy 31. 39), while the fitness of the short straight sword for close combat is repeatedly dwelt upon by the classical historians. The Gaul held out his shield at arms length ('scuto projecto,' A. Gell. 9. 13), and required room for the swing of his huge pointless weapon. In the celebrated duel which gave Manlius his surname of Torquatus, the Roman, as Claudius Quadrigarius told the story, more than once with his shield pushed aside the shield of his gigantic adversary, and cowering beneath the sweep of the Gaul's broadsword

kept pressing on his right shoulder till repeated stabs[1] brought him to the ground.

Again, in the battle of the Grampians, Agricola ordered his men to close with the enemy, as the small shields of the British and their huge swords, unfurnished with points, were ill-fitted for a fight hand-to-hand (Tac. Agric. 36).

At the battle of Cannae the Hispani and Galli had similar shields, but differed widely as to the swords, the Gaulish long and without points, the Spanish short, fitted for stabbing; Gauls naked from the waist,—the Spaniards clad in white tunics edged with purple (Liv. 22. 46). The Boii and Insubres fought in the baccae and saga, the Gaesatae thew them away and fought naked (Pol. 2. 28). Appian says that the lances (δόρατα) used against the Boii were like the darts which the Romans call pila, half of quadrangular wood and the rest of iron also quadrangular and soft except the point (App. De Rebus Gallicis, Fragm. 1). The Gaulish sword was not only unwieldy but also badly tempered. It sometimes bent with the violence of a blow, and could not be used again with effect till it had been rested on the ground and straightened with the foot (Pol. 2. 33).

But the Celts were a quick-witted people and soon profited by the neighbourhood of a higher civilization. All the Celtic swords that have come under my notice have been pointed two-edged serviceable weapons, and some of them beautifully manufactured. Of the unwieldy swords attributed to the Gauls I have as yet seen no specimen. The Caledones who fought at the Grampians were rude foresters, whose remote position must have made them laggards in civilization. The men who met the soldiers of Aulus Plautius on equal terms must have been differently armed.

Pilum. The *hussos* (pilum) had a shaft three cubits long, square or round, the heavier ones a palm more than three inches in diameter, or if square a palm each side. The iron

[1] The text has been variously manipulated by the editors, but this seems to be the probable meaning of the author.

head was barbed and as long as the shaft, and most strongly bound to the shaft to half its length so that the iron would break sooner than the shaft. The iron where it was put into the shaft was a finger and a half in thickness, so carefully did they look to the strength of this junction (Pol. 6. 23).

According to the views of our modern antiquaries the pilum was a javelin sufficiently stout to serve upon occasion as a pike. It consisted of an iron spit, generally barbed and about three feet long, fixed to a shaft of about the same length, either by means of a socket or of an inserted tongue kept in position by two iron pins[1]. Below the tongue there was an iron ring round the shaft. From experiments made by order of the French Emperor, it seems that such a javelin might be hurled from a distance of more than thirty yards so as to penetrate a deal board more than an inch in thickness, and therefore we may conclude that few shields could stop it when hurled from that distance by a practised hand. If the pilum pierced a shield the spit was long enough to reach the body of the bearer; and even if no wound was inflicted the shield was incumbered and its owner fought at disadvantage (B. G. 1. 25). After the legionary had thrown his javelin, he rushed on to close combat, but at 'the double' he would cover fifteen yards, at the end of which he might expect to meet an active enemy, in a few seconds, and one cannot readily see how in so short a space of time he could draw his sword and properly adjust his shield. When eager for the fight, the Roman soldier did not wait to throw his pilum, but met the enemy at once with the sword.

A variety of the murderous weapon we have been describing seems to have been used by the Franks who served in the Roman armies during the fourth century. They called

[1] In the Cimbric war Marius ordered one of the two pins to be made of wood. The wooden pin was broken by the shock when the pilum struck the shield, so that the spit turned round on the remaining pin, like the blade of a pen-knife when shutting, and the pilum was rendered useless to the enemy till a new pin was provided.

it the *angon*, and it probably contributed to the success of the Merovingian princes, and thereby to the establishment of the French monarchy. As the pilum could only be used effectively by those who had been long trained to its exercise, it was gradually laid aside by the unwarlike subjects of the Empire, and only partially adopted by the rude militia of the barbarous tribes around it. The hand missile of the Gauls was the gaesum (Pol. 6. 39): it is mentioned by Livy as a Celtic weapon (Livy 28. 45), and occurs in the Septuagint translation of Joshua (8. 18), whence Hody infers the late translation of this book. Each soldier ordinarily carried two of these weapons (Aen. 8. 661).

* * * * * *

Diodorus represents the Gauls as tall men, with bodies white and fleshy. Their hair, naturally yellow they made more so by frequently washing it with a certain dye. It was turned back from the forehead to the crown of the head, and even to the nape of the neck. They looked like Pans and Satyrs, and the hair, owing to this treatment, grew so thick that it was like a horse's mane[1]. Some shaved the beard, others let it grow moderately. The nobles shaved the whiskers, but let the moustache grow till it covered the mouth, so that their food got entangled, and their drink passed as it were through a strainer. When they dined they sat on the ground on the skin of a wolf or dog. The young people, male and female, served the others. Near were the fire-hearths with kettles and spits laden with whole carcases. The best portions were carried to the most distinguished persons. They invited strangers to the repast, and not till after they had dined asked them who they were and what they wanted. They were wont to rise from the feast to the fray, and to fight with each other on any provocation, thinking nothing of the loss of

[1] When Camillus exhibited his Gaulish prisoners, Appian makes him exclaim: 'These are the men that utter against you those frightful shouts in battle, and who brandish their weapons and shake their hair' (App. De Reb. Gall. Fragm. 8).

life, for they held with Pythagoras that the souls of men are immortal, and after a certain time enter new bodies and live again. Accordingly, at their funerals they threw epistles on the pile, as if they could be read by the defunct.

In journeying and in battle[1] they used a two-horse chariot which held a driver and rider. When in battle they withstood cavalry, they threw the javelin and then alighted to fight with the sword. Some of them despised death to such a degree that they went naked to meet danger, with barely an apron round their loins. They selected from their dependents and brought with them freemen to wait on them, whom they employed as drivers and shield-bearers. When the forces were drawn out they were wont to advance before the ranks and call out the best of their opponents. When any one answered the challenge to the fight, they chaunted the brave deeds of their forefathers and boasted of their own achievements, reviled and depreciated their opponent, and began by taking all his courage from him by their taunts. They cut off the heads of their fallen enemies and hanged them round their horses' necks. The bloody spoils they delivered over to their attendants, and carried off the booty singing the song of victory. These first-fruits of the field they nailed to their dwellings, as if they had overcome wild beasts in some hunting expedition. But the heads of their more distinguished enemies they embalmed and preserved in a chest, and exhibited to strangers, priding themselves on the fact that some one of their ancestors, or their father, or it might be they themselves had refused large sums of money for the head[2].

According to Strabo 'they carry a cloak and let their hair grow, and wear braccae tight all round. They have slit tunics provided with sleeves and reaching the pudenda and buttocks. They have a rough short wool wherewith they weave the thick cloaks they call *lainai*. Their arms are well suited

[1] When Strabo (4. 5. 2) mentions the war-chariots of the Britons, he tells us that *some* of the Gauls also used them.

[2] Diod. 5. 28, 29.

to their bodies, a long sword hanging on the right side[1], a long oblong shield and spears to match, and the *mataris*, a kind of dart. Some use bows and darts, and there is also a stick like a dart thrown from the hand and not from a thong, and flying further than an arrow[2], which they use more particularly in their chase of birds. Even to this day most of them sleep on the ground and dine seated on rushes. Their food is mostly made up of milk and flesh of all kinds, but especially of swine's flesh both fresh and salted. The swine live abroad, and are remarkable for their height, strength, and swiftness—indeed, it is as dangerous for a stranger to approach them as the wolf. They have houses of planks and wicker-work, round and like a *tholos*, and they place on them a huge roof. So plentiful are both their flocks and their herds of swine that they furnish abundance of cloaks[3] and salted meats not only to Rome, but to most parts of Italy.' 'To this simplicity and fearlessness is added much folly and braggadocio and love of finery. They wear gold, having twisted torcs round their necks and bracelets round their arms and wrists; and those of position wear dyed garments bespangled with gold. On account of so much lightness they are found to be insufferable when they conquer, and panic-stricken when beaten' (Strabo 4. 4. 3, 5).

[1] Vide Bochart, Geog. Sac., p. 745.

[2] *Matarae* and *tragulae* were used by the Helvetii, B. G. 1. 26. The distance to which the ancients could fling their missiles with effect is nowhere distinctly stated. See above, p. 97.

[3] 'Sheep few and those bearing coarse fleeces, whereof they spinne notable rugge mantle.' Campion's Historie of Ireland, c. 3, p. 13, ed. 1809.

CHAPTER IV.

THE Itinerary. — Opinions of antiquaries. — Probably compiled by Imperial command for the public service. — Distances, how computed; variations of stages explained. — Sources of error in reckoning mileage. — Phrases *ad novas, ad medias, ad Rubras.* — British *iters.* — Miles along the fosse measured from Leicester. — Existing milestones in England. — Others mentioned by antiquaries.

The word *miliaer* in Saxon charters. — The phrases *fines, ad finem, ad fine,* &c. — The Latin of the Itinerary. — Names in two classes, declinable and indeclinable. — Prepositional form *ad nonum,* &c.; the ablative case—*ponte Scaldis,* &c. — Genitival form more rare. — These indeclinable forms used by classical writers. — Rules of syntax not always observed in the case of declinable names.

The first *Iter.* — Praetorium; the line of Watling Street; 'Habitancum;' Corstopitum. — The second *Iter*; its erratic course explained.

Luguballia; Carlisle; site of Blatum Bulgium; Roman border roads from Carlisle.

Remarks on *Iters* 2, 3, and 4. — Durobrivis, &c., Durolevo, Dubris. — The 10th *Iter*; Bremetenaco.

[The following fragmentary draught of an Essay on the Itinerary of Antonine might perhaps be arranged as a separate paper; but it contains several remarks which bear directly on the subject of the foregoing work, and may as well be placed here.]

TALBOT[1] supposes the Antonine Itinerary to have been written by a scholar (studiosus) in attendance upon some praetor or proconsul; Gale[2] thinks it was begun by order of one of the Antonines, and enlarged from time to time as new stations had to be visited or new garrisons to be established. Both seemingly agree in supposing that the different *iters* were records of journeyings actually made by Roman officials in the discharge of a public duty, and not — as the Jerusalem Itinerary may have been — mere extracts from the diary of a private traveller. Horsley, and most of our later antiquaries, adopt opinions as to

[1] Comment. ad finem annotationum. Leland's Itinerary, ed. Hearne, vol. iii. p. 148.

[2] Gale, Antonini Iter Brit., p. 1.

the origin and compilation of the work, more or less in agreement with those of Gale; but, when I remember how many copies of the work are still extant, and how comparatively unimportant are the discrepancies between them, I feel great difficulty in considering them other than as copies of *one* original, differing from it and from each other, merely as the judgment of the copyist suggested alterations, or his carelessness or ignorance introduced them.

That the Itinerary was originally compiled at the command of one of the Emperors is *primâ facie* probable. The Imperial interests it might be made to serve are obvious. With the exception of some outlying portions, such as Britain north of the wall, Dacia, and certain provinces east of the Euphrates, the whole Empire was penetrated by these *iters.* There is hardly a district which we might expect a Roman official to be sent to, on service either civil or military, where we do not find them. They reach the wall in Britain, run alongside the Rhine, the Danube, and the Euphrates, and cover as with a network the interior provinces of the Empire. It was only from the public archives that materials could be obtained sufficient for the compilation of a work at once so minute in its details and so comprehensive in its plan.

The expenses of the Emperor, when making a progress through the provinces, or of a provincial governor on a tour of inspection, or of an officer conveying troops to some garrison town, or of any other public servant travelling on the public service, would no doubt be entered in some document with dates and places and all other necessary particulars, just as we find entered the expenses of our English kings during their progresses in the Middle Ages. That these documents, or at least the more important ones, were preserved in some public depository we can hardly doubt; and it is probable that from some such documents the compiler of the Itinerary obtained his knowledge of the routes travelled, the towns passed through, and the distances of such towns from each other. What were the principles

that guided him in the selection of his materials it is not easy to say. Some of the *iters* are more than a thousand miles long, while others merely indicate the mileage between two towns a short distance from each other. But we may, I think, presume that the cases selected were those which at the particular period were most likely to meet the exigencies of the public service.

The distances marked in the Itinerary are generally less than the actual distances—sometimes even less than they would be if the measurement were made in English miles, though the English mile is considerably longer than the Roman. Various attempts have been made to explain these deficiencies in the numbers, but the explanations have been more ingenious than satisfactory. Perhaps the following considerations may tend to make the difficulty appear less than it seems at first sight.

If the documents we have supposed really furnished the compiler of the Itinerary with the distance, it is not likely the distances would be found nicely calculated. The chief object of such documents must have been to give an account of the expense incurred in each journey, and the number of miles travelled over was unimportant, save only as it affected this question of expense. The numbers given in the Itinerary are always whole numbers, fractions of miles being left unnoticed. It is not unlikely that the travellers began counting from the first milestone they passed, and ended with the last, so that there may have been fractions of a mile unaccounted for both at the beginning and at the end of a stage. Hence there are frequent discrepancies between the number of miles put down in the Itineraries and the number shown on the milestones. In the Jerusalem Itinerary the first stage after leaving Toulouse ended at the ninth milestone (ad nonum), but the distance travelled is put down as only eight miles, the number of miles along the highway being probably measured from the market-place, while the travellers may have started from the suburbs. The last stage before entering Milan, at the

close of the Itinerary, begins from the posting-house at the ninth milestone, while the distance travelled is put down as only seven miles. It may be that the posting-house lay somewhat nearer to Milan than the milestone from which it took its name, and that the eighth milestone was the first passed on the journey citywards, and that the travellers arrived at their quarters in Milan before reaching the terminus from which the miles were measured. On this hypothesis we should have a portion of a mile unaccounted for at the end of the stage and nearly a whole mile at the beginning. In the journey from Rome to Hadriae in the Antonine Itinerary the eighth stage ended at the hundredth milestone (ad centesimum); but if we add together the numbers assigned to the different stages the whole sum amounts only to 97. The fragments of miles overlooked in the reckoning must on the whole have amounted to three miles. In the Jerusalem Itinerary the numbers of the different stages are preceded by the word 'mil.,' indicating, of course, so many miles; but in the Antonine by the letters *m. p. m.*, which can only be rendered *millia plus minus*, so many miles more or less. It is true that in one or two copies we have only the letters *m p* i.e. *millia passuum*, so many thousand paces, and that Wesseling has adopted this reading. But the last editors[1] have followed the ordinary reading of the MSS., viz. *m p m.*, and there can be little doubt that it is the correct one. It thus appears on the face of the Itinerary itself that the distances marked were looked upon as mere loose approximations to the real distances[2].

As there is a probable defect in the numbers in each

[1] Parthey and Pinder, Berlin, 1848.

[2] This loose estimate of the distances is strongly against Mr. Ward's hypothesis, according to which Antonine's Itinerary was taken from the 'military tables,' or in other words, the campaigning maps of Roman generals, and equally so against his hypothesis that it might be founded on the general survey of the Empire ordered by Julius Caesar. This survey probably led merely to the erection of milestones along the great highways. (Horsl. Brit. Rom. 507.)

stage, the deficiency in the distance between two given towns will probably be the greater, the greater the number of the stages. In the Jerusalem Itinerary the distance between every two posting-houses is marked as a stage, and owing to this multiplication of the stages we find that whenever they run over the same ground the sum of the several stages in the Jerusalem Itinerary is almost always less than that in the Antonine.

There is another source of error arising from the change in the starting-points whence the miles are measured. The following are the stages between Padua and Aquileia in the Jerusalem Itinerary.

The City Patavi	
Change at the twelfth milestone	12
Change at the ninth milestone	11
The City Altino	9
Change at Sanos	10
The City Concordia	9
Change at Apicilia	9
Change at the eleventh milestone	10
The City Aquileia	11

Here it will be seen that in little more than eighty miles the miles are measured from no less than three different centres, viz. from Patavi, Altino, and Aquileia; and there can be little doubt that in passing from one district to another there was a certain distance, to wit the interval between the last milestone of the district, left and the first milestone of the new district, unaccounted for.

It was the duty of the Provincials[1] to provide horses, &c. for the postal service, and to keep in repair the stables, &c. required for their accommodation. It is probable that each district on which this duty devolved had its own mode of

[1] As to the Cursus Publicus, vide Anecdota of Procopius, c. 30; ed. Venet. pp. 338, 380. In each stable forty horses; *expenses borne by the Emperor's privy purse.* Procopius speaks of the profits thence arising to the neighbourhood. The officers, called 'Agentes in rebus' and 'Curiosi,' had the superintendence. The Emperor and Pretorian Prefect alone could give warrants for *the use* of the Imperial posts. The *Codex Theodosianus* has minute directions as to the administration of the Cursus Publicus.

measuring the distances. The phrase *ad novas* is of frequent occurrence in the Itinerary, and it has sometimes struck me that it might be equivalent to *ad res novas*, and indicate a station where a new management undertook the service, and a new vehicle and driver awaited the traveller. *Ad medias* on this hypothesis would indicate a station where there was an intermediate or supplemental service. We must, however, change our hypothesis, when we come to such terms as Ad Pictas or Ad Rubras. The latter station is called Rubrae by Martial (4. 64. 15), and Saxa Rubra by Livy (2. 49) and others; and the name may have been equivalent to our English 'Red hill.' Perhaps we may consider *rupes* as understood in the phrase 'Rubrae.'

In the provinces the centres from which the miles were measured seem to have been few, and consequently the districts that had to maintain particular services must have been of greater extent than in Italy. In Aquitaine, Toulouse, Auch, Eause, &c. were such centres, but from extant milestones it would seem that in other parts of Gaul the measurement was sometimes continued along a line of road for one or two hundred miles uninterruptedly, and it may be for longer distances. In Britain the only place we can assert positively to have been a starting-point was Leicester.

In the British *iters* we have no entry that throws any light on the subject of the mileage, but a milestone was discovered near Leicester which shows that it was one of those centres from which the miles along the fosse were measured[1]. The distance between Leicester and Cirencester may have been divided into two postal services of which those cities were the respective centres.

There have been few milestones discovered in this country which had inscriptions on them, but even when mutilated and without inscriptions these monuments, particularly when found *in situ*, have great value, as they are the best means we have of showing the existence and direction of the Roman roads. The late Mr. Job Lousley told me he

[1] Vide McCaul, Inscr., p. 86.

could take me to two milestones still *in situ* on the Roman road leading from Streatley to Aldworth. They were probably the same as those mentioned by Hearne in his edition of the Life of More, p. 249. Blomefield mentions (H. of Norf. 1. 528) another in the road between Ickburgh and Bury, and also in the plantation near Linford; on the road between Caistor and Peterborough are stones erected on square bases (Gough's Camden, 2. 183); the Leicester milestone is the oldest in Britain, 'the others beginning with Philip' (Gough's Camden, 2. 209). On the high dyke road north of Ancaster, Stukeley found fragments of milestones like the stumps of crosses (ib. p. 250). On Trecastle Hill, Brecknockshire, was found a milestone now at Llandilo (Arch. 4. 7), and on the Long Mountain another (Ib.).

On the North Watling Street, between Reedsdale and Chew Green, are 'the golden pots,' i.e. square pedestals two feet square, with a square or octagonal hole in which are generally found fragments of columns ten inches in diameter; five or more remain on the west of the road, and less than a mile from each other (Roy, Mil. Ant. p. 109). Percy's cross on the Devil's Causeway, between the Bremish and the Till, is an octagonal cross six or seven feet high, but with no inscription. In Rey-cross on Stanemore, the pillar is broken off a little above the base. I may add a reference to the pedestal on the Roman road leading from Cramond to the end of the wall; a pedestal with part of shaft on the edge of the Roman road, N. of Aberford, Yorkshire; two pedestals east of Ermine Street, N. of Stilton, one of which has a wavy border, and part of the shaft in the base; pedestals in the Julian Way, E. of Cowbridge, and on Staling Down, west of Cowbridge; and on 'the golden mile,' a cross on steps (Roy, p. 110).

The word *miliaer* sometimes occurs in our Saxon charters; Cod. Dipl., No. 402, mentions a *miliaer* in Watling Street, near Badby in Northamptonshire[1].

[1] See also No. 730.

The phrases *fines* and *ad finem* frequently occur in the Antonine Itinerary. In the Jerusalem Itinerary we also have the phrases *ad finem* and *ad fine*, where *fine* must be considered as an indeclinable name, and *ad fine* as an idiom analogous to *ad nono*, *ad Marte*, *ad stabulo Dio* . . . , &c. We have no such entry as *fines*, *ad fines*, or *ad finem* in the British *iters*, but in some of the Saxon charters we find names occurring in the description of the boundaries of certain estates, which seem clearly to represent the words *ad fine*. The word *fines* seems often to have denoted the boundary of a province, and therefore it would be important to fix the localities which have these names in our Saxon charters.

The Latin of the Itinerary is peculiar. The names which occur in it belong to two classes, those which are and those which are not declinable. The latter remain unchanged under all circumstances, and may represent any case required by the exigencies of Latin syntax. They are by far the most numerous of the two classes, and it may be well to notice briefly some of the peculiarities of their formation.

Latin names of places often take a prepositional form: *ad nonum*, at the ninth milestone; *ad vicesimum*, at the twentieth; *ad aquas*, at the waters; *ad pontem*, at the bridge; *ad tres insulas*, at the three islands; *ad septem aras*, at the seven altars; *contra Syene*, over against Syene; *in castello*, in the castellum, &c. But the most common practice was to employ the ablative case: *ponte Scaldis*, at the Scheldt-bridge; *pontibus*, at the bridges; *confluentibus*, at the confluences (Coblentz); *turribus*, at the towers; *aquis Sulis*, at the waters of Suli (Bath); *Derventione*, at Derventio; *Londinio*, at Londinium, &c. Cities which took the names of the tribe of which they were the capital generally assumed this form, thus *Treveris* was the capital of the Treveri, now Treves; *Ambianis* the capital of the Ambiani, now Amiens. Genitival forms are also met with, but more rarely: old Sarum in two of the British *iters* takes

the name of Sorbioduni, and in the fourteenth Caerleon on Usk appears as Iscae.

That these indeclinable names were occasionally used by the classical writers has been amply shown by Salmasius, Burton, Reynolds, and others. Livy (Hist. 28. 19) writes—'civitates quarum maxime insignes *Illiturgi*[1] et Castulo erant, etc.'; Vopiscus in his Life of Probus has 'Copto et *Ptolemaide* urbes Romano addidit juri[2],' and I think I may add the passage in Livy (Hist. 21. 24), 'ad oppidum *Illiberi*[3] castra locat.' In the Jerusalem Itinerary such combinations as 'et venis Odronto, mansio,' 'mutatio vicus Forno novo,' are common. We must not suppose that a writer could at pleasure render a name indeclinable by putting it into the genitive or ablative case. It was custom alone which could create these indeclinable names, and not unfrequently we find both forms in use, e.g. *Londinium* and *Londinio*, *Derventio* and *Derventione*, *Ratae* and *Ratis*. The title of the seventh British *iter* is 'A Regno Londinio,' from Regnum to Londinio, where we have the indeclinable name discharging the office of an accusative, while in the title of the eighth, 'Ab Eburaco Londinium,' from Eburacum to Londinium, we have the declinable noun and the regular construction. Such phrases as 'A Lilybaeo per maritima loca Tindaride usque,' from Libybaeum along the coast as far as Tindaride (Tindaris) abound in the Itinerary, and there is reason to believe that even in the earliest times the indeclinable names most prevailed in popular usage. In the work of

[1] In the nominative Iliturgis. The undeclined name was so common, that it is the only one noticed by Forcellini. But in the Spanish *iter* we have the noun in the nominative case Illiturgis.

[2] Solinus (23. 6) 'ibi oppidum *Olisippone* Ulyxi conditum.' Plin 34. 7, 'in civitate Galliae Arvernis.' Vide Augustonemetum 'Arvernis quae Clarus mons dicitur. Aimoin.' Τυῤῥηνοὶ γὰρ ἄποικοι Σαρδιανῶν λέγονται· Τυῤῥηνικὴ δὲ πόλις οἱ Οὐήϊοι, Plut. Romulus, 2

[3] Walckenaer (Geogr. 2. 172) supposes the last element of this name to be the Basque word *berri*, a city. The Basque *uria* signifies a city, but I do not remember to have seen *berri* used in this sense. It is very unlikely that a Basque name should have survived in a district from which the Iberes had been driven a thousand years before. Forcellini has both Illiberi and Illiberis.

Ravennas, where the names seem to have been taken at once from the map, these forms are almost the only ones met with[1].

The declinable names are used in a way that is not free from difficulty. The rule which requires that the name of a place to which we are going should be put in the accusative is recognized in the Itinerary, but is not always observed, the names sometimes following each other in the order of the towns without any regard to syntactical arrangement. We should have a similar case if we put one of Bradshaw's tables into the form—From London to Bath, 113 miles; Hanwell, 7½ miles; Slough, 11; *to* Reading, 17½; Pangbourne, 5½; *to* Didcot, 12; &c. Here we have a syntactical arrangement only in the cases of Reading and Didcot, the other names being simply dotted down in the order in which the places occur. It is the same in the Itinerary. In the sixth British *iter* we have 'Tripontio, m p m xii; Venonis, m p m viii; Ratas, m p m xii'; &c., i.e. Tripontio, 12 miles; Venonis, 8 miles; to Ratae, 12 miles; &c., where I think Wesseling was not justified in correcting Ratas into Ratis. So in the fifth *iter* we have 'Icinos, m p m xviii,' to the Icini, 18 miles; and in the Gaulish *iter*, 'Treveros, leugas xcviii,' to Treveri, 98 leagues. On the other hand, in the following extract from the fourteenth British *iter*, we have a mere sequence of names without syntax: 'Venta Silurum, m p m viii; Abone, m p m xiii; Trajectus, m p m viii; Aquis Solis, m p m vi'; &c., i.e. giving the names their primitive meaning; Venta Silurum, 8 miles; at the Avon, 14 miles; the Ferry, 8 miles; at the waters of Soli, 6 miles. Here *trajectus* is in the nominative, and probably also Venta Silurum, though it may possibly stand for an indeclinable name Ventâ Silurum. We have considered Treveri in the Gaulish *iter* to denote the

[1] 'I observe that the names of these places are generally put in the ablative, which looks as if they were taken directly from the Notitia, for what other reason the Ravennas should have to put them in that case I know not.' Horsley, Brit. Rom. iii. 4, p. 498.

city (Treves). When the capital of a tribe took the name of the people, it was, as we have seen, generally put in the ablative case and treated as an indeclinable noun, Treveris, Ambianis, &c. But this was not always the case, and in the eighth Gaulish *iter* we have the entry 'Treveros civitas leugas xv,' which can only be construed—to Treveri (it is a city) 15 leagues. In Ammianus Marcellinus (15. 11) we have more than one example in which the name of a people is thus used to designate their capital—'Belgica, qua Ambiani sunt, urbs inter alias eminens, et Catelauni[1] et Remi; apud Sequanos Bisontios videmus et Rauracos, aliis potiores oppidis multis.' I have not elsewhere seen any mention of a people called Bisontii, but that such a people existed is clear from the passage cited. Their capital must have been Besançon. In the fifth British *iter* we have the entry 'Icinos,' or 'Icianos'—the MSS. have both forms—and for reasons that will be hereafter given the name in this instance may refer to the people rather than to the place. Our antiquaries indeed have invented the name Icianum, but if the station be really intended, its name must be Iciani; for we certainly have no authority for Icianum. From the Notitia we learn that certain horsemen named Petriani were quartered 'Petrianis.' Horsley (p. 107, note) supposed this word to be an adjective, agreeing with the word 'castris' understood, and he called the station in the nominative Petriana, a name which is used by our antiquaries, without the slightest misgiving! On a like assumption from the entry 'Magnis,' Horsley (ib.) obtained 'Magna' as the name of another station on the Wall. The analogy of Ratae, Ritupae, &c., might have suggested a nominative 'Magnae,' but, as Ravennas immediately after his notice of Luguballia (Carlisle) mentions a station called Magnis, we have

[1] Ausonius calls Treves Treveri; vide Clarae Urbes.

'omne Latinum
Fabula nomen erit. Gabios Vejosque Coramque
Pulvere vix tectae poterunt monstrare ruinae.'
Lucan, 7. 392.

authority for considering Magnis as an indeclinable noun and as the proper name for the station. Better scholars than Horsley have blundered when dealing with these difficult questions. In a fragment of Fronto quoted by Niebuhr[1], 'Et illae vestrae Athenae Durocortoro,' that scholar would consider Durocortoro as a rustic corruption of Durocortorum. Had he looked into the Itineraries, he might have seen that Durocortoro was an independent word that had been recognized in Roman usage as an indeclinable name for centuries. A larger proportion of the names of places which appear in our modern classical dictionaries have no authority to rest upon, and not a few of them have been formed upon analogies which are clearly erroneous.

The first iter leads from 'the *limes*, that is from the vallum,' to a place called Praetorium. The latter word, in the first and second centuries, was commonly used to denote a governor's residence, whatever post recognized by Roman polity that official might occupy. In the time of Hadrian the praetorium in Britain must, I think, be looked upon as designating the residence of the Propraetor. The words *limes* and *vallum* seem to be used in a general sense to denote the wall and its supporting fortresses. In the military language of modern times, the heading might be rendered 'from the Limes to Head-quarters,' and for this iter we may have the route followed by the governor on his return from

[1] Lect. 2. 310. Niebuhr evidently supposed that the Belgic Gauls pronounced Latin like the Italians. The Romance dialects of Northern France strongly negative such an assumption. The Latin endings *us*, *um*, are represented in modern Italian by the ending *o*; but in the Romance of Oil there is no such ending. The early Latins pronounced the final consonants obscurely, and sometimes omitted them even in inscriptions. In the epitaph on Scipio Barbatus (Orelli, vol. i, no. 550) we have 'Taurasia Cisauna Samnio cepit,' and Niebuhr translates, he conquered Taurasia and Cisauna *in* Samnium. He seems to have shrunk from adopting the phrase *Samnium capere*; but if he had turned to the epitaph on Lucius Scipio, son of Barbatus (552), he would have found the very same idiom, 'Corsica cepit,'—he conquered Corsica. Niebuhr's rendering of this epitaph has been countenanced by other scholars, but I cannot help thinking it a blunder. The error is the converse of the one noticed in the text.

a tour of inspection, or by some staff-officer, on his way back to report to the governor on the state of the frontier garrisons.

On the line of the Northern Watling Street, and more than twenty miles north of the wall, are the ruins of a Roman station now called High Rochester. Here was found an altar which, from its inscription, appeared to have been erected by certain soldiers belonging to the 'band of scouts at Bremenium,' &c. [N. EXPLOR. BREMEN.]. From this Camden inferred that at High Rochester was situated the first station of this iter, and late explorations, undertaken at the expense of the Duke of Northumberland, have shown this inference to be a just one.

Some seven or eight miles to the southward, in the Watling Street, are the remains of another Roman station; and Camden gave it the name of Habitancum, on the strength of an inscription found there, which mentioned the *primas* or chief magistrate of Habitancum. How Habitancum came to be omitted in the *iter* it is not easy to say. Possibly it did not exist when the Itinerary was compiled, though it could not have been built many years later, for inscriptions found there inform us that Caracalla repaired certain of the buildings that had been decayed through age ('portam cum muris vetustate dilapsis')[1].

Further south in the Watling Street, some two and a half miles south of the wall, and some twenty-three miles from Bremenium, we come to the site of a station near Corbridge which is generally recognized as Corstopitum. No mention is made in the iter of any station actually on the line of the wall, and this omission is explained by the fact that the Watling Street did not pass through any of the stations on the wall, but through a distinct gate erected for the special accommodation of those who passed along this highway. Remains of this gateway still exist at Postgate, five furlongs west of the station at Hunnum.

The second iter leads from 'the wall to the port called Ritupis,' or in other words to Richborough in Kent. As

[1] Bruce's Roman Wall, ed. 1867, p. 336.

the first iter was supposed to represent the journey of an officer returning to head-quarters after a tour of inspection, so the present one may represent the journey of an officer returning to give in his report to the Imperial Government; or, it may be the route followed by Hadrian himself on his return from Britain. It is only on some such hypothesis that I can account either for the strange wanderings of this iter or for its terminus at Richborough.

That Luguballia was Carlisle has been the opinion of the ablest of our antiquaries from Camden's time downwards, and will indeed hardly admit of doubt. Like Carlisle it was situated on the wall, for in the fifth iter it is expressly called Luguvalio ad Vallum. Camden moreover quotes Mela as asserting that in Celtic *lug-us* signified a tower, and in our Cornish dictionaries we find *lug* a tower, so that Lug-u-vallia, or Lugu vallia, for we meet with both forms, may be interpreted the tower at the vallum—*u* being the connecting vowel. Simeon of Durham speaks of 'Lugubalia which is called Luel,' and, by adding the Welsh or Cambrian addition *Caer*, we get Caer-Luel, which the barbarous orthography of modern times has corrupted into Carlisle. We may therefore rest with confidence in our identification of this station. Two others precede it in the iter, Blatum Bulgium and Castra Exploratorum, or the Scouts' camp. Blatum Bulgium was fixed both by Camden and by Reynolds at the western extremity of the wall,—by the former on account of some supposed resemblance of name, and by the latter because he laboured under the mistake that the words *a vallo* showed the iter to commence at some station on the wall,—a notion which is now exploded. Horsley fixed the Castra Exploratorum at Netherby, eleven miles north of Carlisle, where were evident tokens of a great Roman station, and where since Horsley's day has been found an inscription which speaks of a riding-school for cavalry, 'Basilica Equestris Exercitatoria,' a convenience that might be expected in a camp where a band of scouts was stationed (Lysons, Cumb. cxlvi.). The

necessity of having these scouts in the neighbourhood of such suspicious localities as Liddesdale and Eskdale must be obvious. Ten miles north-west of Netherby, at Middleby in Annandale, our modern antiquaries are pretty well agreed in fixing Blatum Bulgium. Here is the well-preserved site of a Roman station, situated about two miles from a strong British fortress called Birrenswork (Bryn, Welsh for a hill). Roman sculpture has been dug up at Middleby, and several altars dedicated by soldiers of the 2nd cohort of the Tungri[1]. It seems to me that the attribution is confirmed by the name. The Irish *blath* means a field, and Blat-um Bulgium would mean the Belgian Field or district[2], i. e. the district assigned to the Belgian Tungri there stationed.

That a Roman road once passed from the neighbourhood of Carlisle to Gretney in Annandale there can be little doubt, and 'from this place for many miles together the vestiges of it are distinctly to be seen' leading by the station at Middleby towards the north-west (Roy's Mil. Ant. p. 104). Our antiquaries generally consider the Roman road from Carlisle to have run along the line of the present north road and to have crossed the Esk at Longtown, leaving Netherby some two miles to the east on a road said to branch off towards Eskdale. On this hypothesis we may suppose that the *mutatio* or posting-house was at the place where the road crossed the river, or rather at the point where the road from Netherby entered the main highway, and that it was called after the neighbouring station on which it was dependent. The distance from Carlisle to the mutatio at

[1] Two altars found at Birrens were dedicated by persons connected with Coh. II. Tungr., and in one of them appears the name of Bedae pagus, supposed to be Bitburg, between Treves and Cologne (Roach Smith, Coll. 3. 202). Another altar was found there also dedicated by a soldier of the same cohort. Another altar, 'Fortunae Coh. I. Nervana Germanor.' (Coll. 3. 202). Another altar with same inscription is mentioned in Dr. Wilson's Archaeology of Scotland. R. Smith refers to Tacitus' statement that the Treveri affected the name of Germans.

[2] The adjective *Belgius* is not found in Classical Latin, but that it once existed may be inferred from the name of *Belgium* (cf. Lat-ium Samn-ium) given to a portion of the Belgic states (B. G. 5. 24), and of Bolgios given to a leader of the Celtic bands who invaded Greece, 281 B.C. See above, vol. i, p. 400.

Longtown would agree well with the numbers in the Itinerary; and the distance from Longtown to Middleby, though somewhat greater than we might have anticipated, may still be accepted as a sufficiently near approximation to that laid down.

It may be observed that as Bremenium in the Watling Street lay some 18 miles north of the central portions of the wall, so this Roman station in Annandale lay some 20 miles north-west of its western portion; and as the line of the Watling Street was that generally followed by the border-thieves of the Middle Ages when they made a 'raid' into the Middle-March, so was the Roman road in Annandale, the line by which they generally penetrated into the country belonging to the Western Marches. The outlying Roman fortresses of Bremenium and Blatum Bulgium teach us that the Romans had in their day to provide against the same evils as our own ancestors at a later period. Then as afterwards it was necessary to watch these two highways. The physical conditions of the country led to the same results in both cases.

Part of Iter II.		*Iter III.*		*Iter IV.*	
Londinio.		From Londinium to the port Dubris.		From Londinium to the port Lemanis.	
Noviomago . .	X	Durobrivis . .	XXVII	Durobrivis . .	XXVII
Vagniacis . . .	XVIIII	Duroverno . .	XXV	Duroverno . .	XXV
Durobrivis . .	VIIII	To the port Dubris	XIV	To the port Lemanis . . .	XVI
Durolevo . . .	XIII				
Duroverno . .	XII				
Ad portum Ritupis	XII				

No one doubts that in these iters *Durobrivis* is Rochester, *Duroverno* Canterbury, and the ports *Ritupis*, *Dubris* and *Lemanis* Richborough, Dover and Lymne respectively. The 3rd and 4th iters differ from each other merely as regards their port. It was probably thought well to give both routes, slight as was the difference between them, on account of the frequent journeys between London and the coast. The Roman road leading from Canterbury southwards in the direction of the Romney Marshes is now

only traceable to within two or three miles of its original terminus, but it seems to trend towards the western extremity of the port which once existed at Hythe rather than towards the ruins at 'Stutfull Castle,' and several reasons favour the conclusion that the Castellum at that place was of later date than the road. Midway between Canterbury and Rochester have been discovered traces of a Roman station. It lies about a quarter of a mile north of the highway, and there can be no doubt represents the Durolevo of the 2nd iter. The distances agree and the locality gives significance to the name. The station is on the border of a low flat which in the Roman times must at least at high water have been a lake. Dur-o-lev-um means the water of the *lev*—*Llif*, W. a flood, of which the Cornish *lo*, an inlet of water, a pool, appears to be a variation. Caer-lêb in Anglesey lay 'in a swamp' (Arch. Cambr. July, 1866, p. 214)[1].

Dubris was probably the Belgic name for the little stream at Dover formed in the same analogy as Thames-is, but Ritupis and Lemanis must be ablative cases plural—at the Ritupae (whatever that word may signify) and at the Lemanis or lakes. The pool-harbour which formed the port at Hythe was separated by a bed of shingle from the great estuary which once existed in the Romney Marshes. These distinct sheets of water explain the use of the plural noun in the name Portus Lemanis.

The 10th Iter[2].		NOTITIA. *Item per lineam Valli.*	
A Clanoventa / Mediolano	CL		
Galava . .	XVIII	Tribunus Cohortis I^mae^ Aeliae Classicae	Tunnocelo.
Alone . . .	XII	,, ,, I^mae^ Morinorum .	*Glannibanta.*
Galacum . .	XIX	,, ,, 3^ae^ Nerviorum . .	*Alionae.*
Bremetonaci	XXVII	Cuneus Armaturarum	*Bremetenraco.*
Coccio . .	XX	Praefectus Alae I^mae^ Herculeae . . .	Olenaco.
Mancunio .	XVII	Tribunus Coh. 6^tae^ Nerviorum . . .	Virosido.
Condate . .	XVIII		
Mediolano .	XVIII		

[1] I know not how the Dubrae, which is so often used by our antiquaries, can be justified.

[2] By the side of the iter I have placed an extract from the Notitia, to enable the reader the more readily to compare them.

In the iter we have *at intervals* the sequence Clanoventa, Alone, Bremetonaci, and in the Notitia the sequence Glannibanta, Alionae, Bremetenraco: and hence it has been inferred that Bremetonaci is the same station as Bremetenraco. Now on a stone found at Ribchester[1] occurs the reading AL. QQ. SAR BREVENM, which has been rendered 'ala equitum Sarmatarum Bremetennoraci.' Hence Hodgson Hinde conjectured that Bremetenraco was Ribchester, and that Cuneus Armaturarum in the Notitia should be read Cuneus Sarmatarum. (M^c^Caul, Inscriptions, p. 78.)

* * * * * * *

[1] A survey of this Roman road from Wigan to Preston was made some thirty years ago by the Rev. Edm. Sibson, of Ashton, in Makerfield, and published in the 1st edition of Baines' Hist. of Lancashire, vol. iii, p. 583. On Pilling Moss is an ancient stone road with clay and moss over it, trees laid transversely, and other trees at right angles, and a concrete of sand over it. Arch. Jour. Dec. 1868, p. 340. Survey of the line of the 10th Iter by Mr. Just, Master of Bury School; Hist. Soc. of Lanc. 1871; Arch. Jour. Dec. 1868, p. 335. See also Hist. Soc. of Lanc. 3. 7.

HISTORICAL PAPERS.

PUDENS AND CLAUDIA.

CHRISTIANITY reached the British isles by way of Cadiz or of Rome.—St. Paul went to Cadiz and may have gone to Britain. — The evangelization of Britain effected by Roman converts. — History of the Christian Church at Rome during the first century obscure. — The Claudia and Pudens of St. Paul identified by Bale with the Claudia and Pudens of Martial; objections to this theory answered by Ussher. — Discovery of the Chichester inscription which couples the name of king Tiberius Claudius Cogidubnus with that of Pudens. — Claudia, probably a daughter of Cogidubnus; may have been carried by Plautius into Italy as a hostage for her father's fidelity; and in that case would probably be given in charge to Pomponia the wife of Plautius.—Pomponia a Christian.—Recent objections founded on the character of Pudens, and the inconsistency of the dates considered; the various epigrams which allude to Pudens reviewed; the result favourable to the theory rather than otherwise. — Pudens' conversion to Christianity apparently a gradual one. — Christian converts at Rome contemporary with Claudia and Pudens; Titus Flavius Clemens; in all probability the same person as Clemens Romanus.

CADIZ was the commercial centre of Western Europe, and was no doubt the place St. Paul had in mind when, writing to the Romans, he spoke of his 'journey into Spain' (Rom. 15. 24). Clemens Romanus, who must have been a contemporary of St. Paul, informs us (Ep. Cor. 1. 5) that he taught the whole world to the very limits of the West (*καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως*). This, indeed, has been described as a 'vague statement,' but in the mouth of Clemens, a man educated in Greek culture, it had a very definite meaning. As to the limits of *ἡ οἰκουμένη* Plato made it extend from Cadiz to the Phasis [1]. Such was the kind of language ordinarily used by Greek writers when speaking of Baetica, the district of which Cadiz was the capital, in other words the Tarshish of Scripture. Later Christian writers express themselves in nearly the same terms when speaking of St. Paul's labours; and his journey into Spain is mentioned, as if it were a well-known historical fact, by Jerome (Amos 5. 8), by Chrysostom (Hom.

[1] Phaedo, p. 109; cf. Strabo, 3. 137.

Math. c. 24, and Comment. 2 Tim. c. 4), and by Theodoret (2 Tim. c. 4, and Ps. 116) [1].

There was ample opportunity for St. Paul to visit Cadiz, and to found a Church there, during the six years that elapsed between his first and second imprisonment at Rome; and among his Spanish converts there could hardly fail to be some who traded with the British isles. It is consistent with all we know of the early history of the Church to suppose that the disciples of the great apostle would sooner or later carry to those distant lands the faith he taught them; and there are expressions in the early fathers which might even warrant a conjecture that St.

[1] Chrysostom, Hom. Matth. c. 24:—

'Et videas eum a Hierosolymis ad Hispaniam usque currentem.' In Matt. Hom. 75.

Comment. in 2 Tim. c. 4:—

'Trophimum, inquit, reliqui Mileti infirmantem. Miletus Epheso vicina est: aut igitur in Judeam navigans reliquit illum, aut quum fuisset Romae rursus in Hispaniam profectus est: an autem inde iterum ad has partes venerit ignoramus.' In 2 Ep. ad. Timoth. Hom. 10.

Comment. in Epist. ad Hebraeos:—

'Cum igitur biennium Romae exegisset in vinculis, tandem dimissus est: deinde in Hispaniam profectus invisit illic Judaeos quoque; ac tum fortasse Romam reversus est, et supplicium jussu Neronis pertulit.' In Epist. ad Hebr. Praefatio.

Theodoret in 2 Tim. 4:—

'Quando appellaturus Romam a Fausto missus est, defensione audita, fuit absolutus, et in Hispaniam et ad alias gentes excurrens, eis doctrinae lucem attulit. Primam ergo vocavit defensionem quâ in illa profectione usus est.'

In Psalm 116. 2:—

'*Laudate Dominum.* Et beatus Paulus breviter docet quot gentibus salutaria praeconia attulit, inquiens ita—Ut ab Hierusalem per circuitum usque ad Illyricum repleverim Evangelium Christi (non enim rectam incedentes viam, sed gentes quae in medio erant circumeuntes salutaria afferebant praecepta), sic autem praedicavi evangelium hoc, non ubi nominatus est Christus, ne super alienum fundamentum aedificarem, sed sicut scriptum est, quibus non est annunciatum de eo videbunt, et qui non audierunt de eo intelligent. Postea igitur in Italiam venit, et in Hispanias pervenit et insulas quae in mari jacent utilitatem attulit. Romanis quidem scribens ait: Spero enim cum in Hispanias proficisci coepero, quod praeteriens videam vos, et a vobis deducar illuc, si vobis primum ex parte perfruitus fuero. Et admirabili Tito scribens inquit: Hujus rei gratia dereliqui te Cretae, ut constituas presbyteros sicut ego disposui tibi. Sic maximus ille Johannes animam a pristino errore liberavit. Sic divinus Andreas,' etc.

Paul himself was a bearer of the 'glad tidings[1].' As the trade of Cadiz was directed rather to Ireland than to Britain[2], it was probably the first of these countries that was Christianized.

The history of the Roman Church during the first century is obscure, and the social position of the early Christians uncertain. According to Renan, St. Paul 'ne connaisait pas la haute société Romaine,' and scholars of our own country have held the same opinion. One of our ablest[3] discredits the story of Claudia and Pudens as generally recorded, and endeavours to show that St. Paul laboured chiefly among the humbler classes of the great city. These views are somewhat modified in a later work (Ep. to the Philippians), but the doubts of so eminent a critic as Dr. Lightfoot deserve to be examined with great respect. The subject, indeed, requires careful examination in all its aspects, for it has a direct bearing on the question of the early evangelization of Britain.

The letter which St. Paul sent from Rome to Timothy shortly before his death, in the year 68, contained greetings from 'Eubulus, and Pudens, and Linus, and Claudia' (2 Tim. 4. 21). Now in an epigram addressed to one Rufus, Martial celebrates the marriage of 'the foreigner Claudia' with 'his Pudens' (Ep. 4. 13), and in another (Ep. 11. 53) extols the graces of a Claudia Rufina, who though 'sprung from the painted Britons' had all the elegance of Italian or Athenian dames; and thanks the gods that she had borne children to her 'sainted husband' (sancto marito).

Bale was, I believe, the first to identify the Claudia and Pudens of St. Paul with the Claudia and Pudens of the Roman poet. He was followed by Camden, but it was objected by the Jesuit Parsons that Martial's fourth book, which contains the first of the two epigrams, was published at a time when St. Paul's Claudia must have been a woman

[1] See authorities in Ussher, Britann. Eccles. Ant, cap. 1.

[2] Vide supra, p. 121.

[3] Professor Lightfoot, Journal of Philology, 4. 60.

of mature, if not advanced age, and therefore unlikely to be extolled for the gracefulness of either her person or deportment. There is, however, reason to believe, as was remarked by Ussher, Collier, and others, that many of the epigrams were written long before they were published, and consequently that the publication of the book was no test of the age of the epigram.

About seventy years after Ussher's death, in the year 1723, there was found at Chichester an inscribed slab which excited great interest among the antiquaries of the day. It was mutilated, but the inscription was restored by Roger Gale (Phil. Trans., No. 379), and informed the reader that a certain guild of workmen with their priests 'dedicated, under the authority of King Tiberius Claudius Cogidubnus, the Legate of Augustus in Britain, a temple to Neptune and Minerva for the safety of the divine house (i. e. the imperial family), Pudens, son of Pudentinus, giving the site.'

The restoration of the letters PUD is consistent with Roman usage. Family names very commonly differed only in their ending. The inscription found at Vieux (Smith's Coll., 3. 92) commemorates Solemnis, son of Solemninus; M. P. Cato Salonianus was son of Salonia (Plut. Cato); Carinus was son of the Emperor Carus; Agrippina, daughter of Agrippa, &c., the reader's memory will readily supply him with scores of similar instances in which the same play of names occur. Gale identified King Cogidubnus with the Cogidunus who, according to Tacitus (Agric. 14), was made governor of certain states in Britain during the reign of Claudius, and he accounted for his taking the names of that emperor, viz. Tiberius Claudius, by referring to the well-known Roman custom of allowing freedmen, clients, and foreigners to take the names of their respective patrons[1]. Here, then, we have a Pudens connected with Britain and joining with a Romanized British prince in forwarding the erection of a public building in that province,

[1] 'Peregrinae conditionis homines vetuit (Claudius) usurpare Romana nomina duntaxat gentilicia.' Suet. Claud. 25.

and at the same time a British prince, whose Roman name of Claudius would, according to Roman custom, necessitate the adoption of the name of Claudia by his daughter.

The question was reopened some years back by the late Rev. J. Williams, Archdeacon of Cardigan[1]. He quoted the passage in Tacitus (Ann. 13. 32), which states that Pomponia Graecina, the wife of Aulus Plautius was charged with having embraced a 'foreign superstition'; that her husband was allowed to try her in a domestic court according to the old Roman custom, and that she was acquitted by him, but ever afterwards lived in a state of melancholy. The trial took place in the year 57, some ten or eleven years before St. Paul wrote the Epistle to Timothy, and it may have been one of the results of the disturbances raised by the Jews against the Christian converts, which led Claudius to expel both Jews and Christians from Rome[2], for all are agreed that by the 'foreign superstition' was meant Christianity. It appears therefore that the conqueror of Britain had a Christian wife, and, if the daughter of the British king was sent to Rome either for education or as a hostage for her father's fidelity, she would naturally be intrusted to the care of this lady, and we can thus account for Claudia's Christian sympathies. Moreover, as Pomponia had been charged with the crime of Christianity, and acquitted only by her husband's verdict, she would naturally live in the strictest seclusion, if it were merely to save her husband from dishonour, and we can thus explain the fact that she is never mentioned in St. Paul's epistles. Again, one of the families of the Pomponian *gens* was called the Rufi, and if we assume that Pomponia belonged to this family, we can account not only for Martial's addressing the first of the two epigrams to a Rufus, but also it may be for the name of Rufina given to Claudia in the second—

[1] Claudia and Pudens. Llandovery, 1848.

[2] 'Judaeos impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantes Roma expulit.' Suet. Claud. 25. It was on this occasion no doubt that Aquila and Priscilla left Rome (Acts 18. 2).

Rufina being certainly a name borne by female members of the Pomponian *gens*, as we find a Pomponia Rufina mentioned in Roman History (Dio. Cass. 77. 16). That a certain Rufus patronized the early Christians is probable from the fact that the son of Simon of Cyrene was called by this Roman name (Mark 15. 21). He may have been the Rufus whom St. Paul mentions among other Christian residents at Rome (Rom. 16. 13).

It is hard to believe that a hypothesis which brings into connexion, and to some extent harmonizes so many different facts, drawn from such widely different sources, has not in it at least some mixture of truth. But the character of Martial's Pudens, and the supposed dates of the events, present difficulties which, in the opinion of certain recent inquirers[1], invalidate the whole story. Let us then examine these difficulties, and that we may have the means of forming clear notions as to the history and character of Pudens, we will briefly pass in review all the epigrams which contain allusions to him. We shall assume that the epigrams were written in the order in which they were published, and as they now appear in Martial's works.

EPIG. I. 31. The centurion Pudens is anxious for the post of Primipilus, and his servant vows an offering to Phoebus on the event of his obtaining the coveted honour. The insinuations contained in this epigram are revolting, but may after all be merely licentious banter. Again and again does Martial excuse his writings on the ground of their containing only 'joke and fun,' and while revelling in the filthiest impurity of thought and language claims credit for being a decent liver.

'Lasciva est nobis pagina, vita proba est.' Epig. I. 4.

I think we may reasonably infer that it was the reflexion of his own mind rather than the character of his friend which gave a colour to the epigram.

[1] Hallam (Arch. 33. 323), and Professor Lightfoot in the Journal of Class. and Sacred Philology, 4. 73.

Epig. 4. 13. Martial, in an epigram addressed to one Rufus, celebrates the marriage of 'his Pudens' to the 'foreigner Claudia.'

Epig. 4. 29. The poet offers excuses for his verses to 'his dear Pudens.' Their *number* may fatigue him—let him read only a *few*, and he will be the better satisfied.

Epig. 5. 48. Pudens has gained his promotion, the vow has been performed, and the poet gives the rein to a foul imagination. The whole must have been meant and taken as a piece of coarse banter, for otherwise no one so soon after a friend's marriage could have offered, and no friend, whether Christian or heathen, could have tolerated, so gross an insult. Pudens was probably at the time in Britain (see the following epigram); and Martial hearing of his promotion dressed up an epigram for the occasion in his usual style and language.

Epig. 6. 58. While 'Aulus' was looking on the neighbouring triones (i. e. the Great and Little Bear), and suffering from the cold of 'the Scythian (i. e. the Northern) pole,' the poet was brought to the edge of the grave, his cold lips pronounced the name of 'Pudens,' &c. If the gods heard the poet's prayer, Pudens shall return safe to Italy, and with equestrian rank enjoy his post of Primipilus. There is, I think, ground for believing that when this epigram was written Aulus Pudens was serving in Britain, for no part of the Roman Empire will suit the requirements of this poem so well as that northern province. The name of Aulus, which is here given to Pudens, may perhaps justify the suspicion that there was some kind of connexion between Martial's Pudens and Aulus Plautius, and it may have been his connexion with this early friend of Cogidubnus that pointed him out as a suitable person to be sent to the court of a British prince. If Pudens were married to the daughter of Cogidubnus, there could not have been a more suitable appointment.

Epig. 7. 11. Pudens urges (cogis) the poet to correct his (libelli), and with his own hand; truly it is a proof of

his love to wish for an autograph copy of such trifles! I think we may infer that Pudens had urged Martial to prepare a *castigated* edition of the Epigrams.

Epig. 7. 97. Martial sends one of his books to a friend in Umbria, the 'fellow-countryman (municeps) of his Aulus Pudens.'

Epig. 11. 53. The poet asks how Claudia Rufina, 'sprung from the painted Britons,' could have such graces, and thanks the gods she has borne children 'to her sainted husband,' and that she is awaiting so many sons and daughters-in-law. May she long enjoy her *one* husband, and the privileges belonging to the parent of *three* children[1].

Epig. 13. 69. The poet never gets any *cattae* (whatever these may be) from Umbria; Pudens prefers sending them to his Lord—that is, I suppose to Aulus Plautius, or it may be to his son and successor.

Besides these epigrams there are seven addressed by Martial to one Aulus, who may not improbably be the same person as Aulus Pudens.

Epig. 5. 28. Never Aulus, whatever your conduct be, can you make Mamercus speak well of you, even though you surpassed the whole world in piety, peacefulness, courtesy, probity, justice, flow of language, and facetiousness — no one *can* please him.

Epig. 6. 78. The physician, Aulus, told Phryx, the noble toper, he would lose his eyesight if he drank. Eye, fare well (farewell), said Phryx; he drank and lost his sight.

Epig. 7. 14. A coarse epigram on a certain damsel, one of Martial's acquaintances.

Epig. 11. 38. Aulus! do you wonder why a certain slave was sold for so large a sum? The man was *deaf*—that is, could not play the eaves-dropper on his master.

Epig. 12. 51. Aulus, why do you wonder that 'our

[1] These coveted privileges were conferred on Martial, though there is reason to believe he was unmarried and probably childless.

Fabullinus' is so often deceived? A good man is always a tiro.—Martial has written nine epigrams addressed to a Fabullus, and one of them is grossly indecent. He seems to have been one of the poet's intimates, but to have been regarded by him with no great respect or affection.

The reader has now before him all the means which are left us of forming an opinion respecting the character of Aulus Pudens. I do not think, when we take into consideration all the circumstances of the time, that it must necessarily be an unfavourable one. On two several occasions he seems to have taken exception to Martial's writings, while the profligate poet shuts his eyes to the gulf, which is daily widening between him and the friend he loved so well. Gradually, however, the truth breaks in upon him, and every one must remark the tone of respect which distinguishes the later epigrams from the earlier ones. The latest indeed is nothing less than a complaint of Pudens' neglect. As we find in the epigrams some grounds for believing that Martial's friend was connected with Aulus Plautius, and that he also served in Britain. I think the incidents of Pudens' life, as they may be gathered from Martial's epigrams, instead of weakening, tend rather to strengthen the conclusions to which we are led by other considerations. Let us see whether the difficulties connected with the dates are such as imperatively forbid our assent to a story supported by so many concurrent probabilities.

Hallam (Arch. 33, p. 323) thus dresses up the old objection. 'The epigrams of Martial appear, with probably few exceptions, to have been written in the reign of Domitian, extending from A.D. 81 to 96. In one of them he mentions the marriage of Pudens to Claudia as then taking place, &c. Now, as we can hardly suppose the Claudia of St. Paul, whose salutation, together with that of Pudens, he sends to Timothy as from friends known to him during his former residence at Rome, which was some years before, to have been very young, there seems a

tolerable presumption against her marriage so many years afterwards to the same Pudens, &c. Claudia may very possibly have first made the acquaintance of Timothy when sent by Pomponia in early girlhood—it may be under the care and guidance of Pudens—to profit by his instructions; and there is no violent improbability in supposing that she was still a girl of eighteen or twenty years old when she joined in the general greeting. She would, it is true, even on this hypothesis, have been a matron in middle life when the epigram on her marriage was published, but the only question which affects the subject now before us is, when was the epigram *written*?'

From the nature of things we might conclude that Martial's epigrams were composed immediately, or soon after, the events they refer to; and in fact we sometimes find him asking for indulgence, on the ground that his verses were written hurriedly to meet the occasions—

> 'Da veniam subitis, non displicuisse meretur
> Festinat, Caesar, qui placuisse tibi.' Spect. 31.

From time to time he appears to have collected together these brilliant trifles, and to have published them to the world in a book (libellus). Several writers, and among the latest Clinton and Williams, have discussed the question, when the different books were published, and the epigrams they contain were written. From its contents it is clear that the sixth book was not published before the year 91, yet its thirty-second epigram must have been written soon after the death of Otho, who killed himself in the year 70. It is also clear that the eleventh book was not published before the year 100, yet its thirty-third epigram must have been written soon after the death of Nero, who killed himself in 68; and its thirty-ninth soon after Martial had attained to manhood, which must have been some years earlier. In the face of facts like these, it was hardly honest in Hallam to lay the case before the reader in the way he has done.

Aulus Plautius retired from the government of Britain

in the year 47. If he carried with him to Italy the infant daughter of Cogidubnus, she may have been fifteen or sixteen years old when she received instructions in the faith from Timothy during his first visit to Rome in the years 61 and 62, and not more than twenty-two when she sent him her greeting. On this hypothesis she would, when the epigram on her marriage was published in the reign of Domitian, have been about forty, though she may have been married, and the epigram written many years before. During the troubles which about this time were raised in Britain by Arviragus (Juv. 4. 127), she and her husband may have been dispatched to Britain to confirm the fidelity and strengthen the authority of her father, Cogidubnus. We know from Tacitus[1] that he did remain faithful. It must have been after her return to Italy that the epigram was written which extols her graceful manners. If the reader should think such praise hardly suitable for a matron who was probably between forty and fifty years of age, he may calm his scepticism with the reflexion that some writers, and Hallam is of the number, consider that the poet is referring to the graceful ease and propriety with which the British lady *spoke* the languages of Greece and Rome.

That Pudens after he had sent his greeting to Timothy by the hands of St. Paul still continued his intimacy with a man like Martial, and that he even contributed to the erection of a heathen temple, need not, I think, shake our confidence in the soundness of our conclusions. Such lapses from Christian rectitude were not unfrequent among the early converts, as the apostolical epistles too plainly teach us. But indeed we have no right to assume that Pudens was a Christian, that is, a baptized Christian, because his name was mentioned by St. Paul. The Evangelists

[1] 'Is ad nostram usque memoriam fidissimus mansit'; Agric. 14. Tacitus was born about the year 57, and perhaps we may infer at least that Cogidubnus was living, and the faithful ally of Rome as late as the reign of Domitian, which began A.D. 81. The Agricola may have been written at the close of the first century.

had learnt not to quench the smoking flax, and, though the Church's door was widely open, many no doubt lingered long before they entered it. The catechumens we know often lengthened out the period of their probation of set purpose, and there were others in friendly relations with the early Church whose course of life forbids even a charitable hope that they were influenced by Christian principle. Not much more than a century after St. Paul wrote his Epistle, Marcia, the mistress of Commodus, was the great patroness of the Roman Christians, and we find her styled the 'god-loving[1],' notwithstanding her criminal connexion with that emperor. Though we cannot conceive a man like St. Paul saying a word or doing a thing which could, for a moment, be supposed to countenance or palliate vice such as is attributed to Marcia, yet we have some grounds for believing that he did not shrink from an intimacy with those who were strangers to the faith. It is generally thought that St. Luke wrote his Gospel under St. Paul's immediate supervision, and it is the opinion of more than one commentator that Theophilus was not a Christian, at least not a confirmed Christian, when this Gospel was addressed to him. We may reasonably presume that the cordiality which distinguishes St. Luke's address to this intruder, if such he were, expressed the feelings the great Apostle entertained towards him; and if St. Paul in his case could take so much kindly interest, it would be easy to suggest reasons why Pudens should have merited and secured his good opinion. We must remember St. Paul's position when he wrote the Epistle. He had been indeed delivered 'from the mouth of the lion,' but a second trial was await-

[1] On the strength of this epithet Bunsen styles her a Christian. I believe Hippolytus to have called Marcia φιλόθεος for the same reasons that induced Josephus (Ant. 20. 8. 11) to give to the infamous Poppaea the title θεοσεβής. Marcia favoured the Christians as Poppaea favoured the Jews; but we have less reason to believe in the conversion of the former to Christianity than of the latter to Judaism. The circumstances connected with Poppaea's funeral certainly give some colour to the latter notion, but Marcia's Christianity has nothing but a treacherous epithet to rest upon.

ing him, and his life was still in jeopardy. His own immediate friends had left him. Demas had forsaken him, Crescens had gone to Galatia, Titus unto Dalmatia; only Luke was with him. But there were four strangers who did not desert him in his extremity; and two of these we have reason to believe were connected with Pomponia. Pudens was evidently a man of a kindly and amiable disposition, and it is an allowable supposition that he was the channel she employed to convey aid and succour to one whom she dared not befriend in person. That a man of the world, generally liked and courted, as Pudens seems to have been, should not at once have yielded to the purer influences that were brought to bear upon him, is what we might expect; and the sequel, or what appears to be the sequel, of his history—that is, his gradual estrangement from the vicious companions of his earlier life, and his ultimate preference of better things, under the guidance of an accomplished and virtuous woman—has nothing in it so unusual as need excite our scepticism. He must have been a consistent Christian, when, in one of his later epigrams, Martial applied to him the epithet 'sainted.'

We will now endeavour to ascertain what residents there were at Rome, contemporaries of Pomponia, Pudens and Claudia, and moving in the same rank of life, who were likely to sympathize in the opinions we have ascribed to them. I shall, I fear, have to differ from the conclusions of some for whose critical sagacity I entertain much respect, but I believe there are none who would less object to have their opinions canvassed and, if necessary, controverted, than the eminent scholars I am alluding to.

Sabinus, brother of the Emperor Vespasian, had a son named Titus Flavius Clemens. He married Domitilla, according to some the sister, but more probably the niece, of Domitian; and his two sons were selected by this emperor to succeed him in the empire. Suetonius, who represents Clemens as a man of 'the most contemptible inertness,' tells us he was put to death by Domitian on the merest

suspicion (Domit. 15), and from Dio Cassius (67. 14) we learn that he was slain in the year 95, during his consulship, and that his wife Domitilla was banished to Pandataria, an island lying off the coast of Italy and used as a receptacle for state-prisoners. From the same author we learn that the charge against both of them was atheism, 'for which many others that had gone over to the opinions of the Jews were condemned, some of whom perished, and others were despoiled of their property.' Atheism was the name by which Christianity was at that time commonly designated, and sloth and inertness were the charges generally brought against the Christian converts.

Of all the early martyrs, Flavius Clemens was the most illustrious by birth and station. Yet his name does not occur in any of the Roman Martyrologies. We find mention made of Clement the Pope, who was banished to the Chersonesus, and there suffered a martyr's death by drowning, in the reign of Trajan, and also of three other Clements of later date, but we look in vain for the name of Flavius Clemens. If he were not the first of these Clements—in other words, the same person as Clemens Romanus—then the Christian convert whose martyrdom is recorded in general history must have been unknown to the Christian martyrologists. Let us briefly review the authorities that bear upon this question.

Jerome, writing in 392, tells us that the Clement mentioned by St. Paul (Philip. 4. 3) was the fourth, or in the opinion of some, the second bishop of Rome, that he wrote an epistle to the Corinthians, died in the third year of Trajan, and had a church at Rome named after him (De Vir. Illustr. c. 15). Elsewhere he calls him 'a disciple of the apostles, who was bishop of the Roman Church after the apostles, and a martyr' (Apol. adv. Ruf. c. 4). Eucherius, Bishop of Lyons, writing about the year 430, tells us that 'Clemens, sprung from an ancient senatorial family and even of imperial descent, filled with every kind of knowledge and skilled in all the liberal arts, adopted the

life of the righteous, and therein was so eminent as to become successor to the chief of the apostles' (Ep. ad Valerianum).

It might be suspected that Jerome's identification of St. Paul's Clement with the Roman bishop was suggested merely by identity of name; but they are also identified both by Origen (in Johan. i. 29) and by Eusebius (H. E. 3. 15). It may be that Flavius Clemens held some official post at Philippi in the year 62, when St. Paul wrote his epistle; but the date which Jerome assigns to Clement's martyrdom, and which is the same as that given in the Roman martyrology, is inconsistent with all we know of the history of Flavius Clemens. How can we explain it on the hypothesis that Flavius Clemens was the Clemens Romanus, in other words the Pope Clement, of ecclesiastical history?

The work generally quoted as the 'Recognitiones,' and which some scholars suppose to have been written as early as the year 200, is a kind of religious novel, in which Clement gives a slight sketch of his conversion and subsequent adventures, and contrives to interweave a vast amount of theological speculation. He tells us he was born at Rome, and that his father was a kinsman of the emperor, but he calls his father Faustinianus instead of Sabinus, and the whole story of the adventures is on the very face of it a romance. It would seem therefore that Clement's life had been the subject of fable long before the time of Jerome, and some legend may have supplied both Jerome and the martyrologist with the date and other circumstances which they connect with the story of Clement's martyrdom.

Jerome says that a church was erected at Rome to Clement's memory, and in the Roman Martyrology we are told that Pope Nicolas the First translated Clement's body into the church bearing his name. In the year 1725[1] there was found under the altar at St. Clement's a leaden

[1] Clementis viri cons: tumulus illustratus, 1727.

box containing bones, &c., and over it a marble slab exhibiting the name of Flavius Clemens. The style of the inscription was not inconsistent with the notion that it belonged to the ninth century. In the immediate neighbourhood of this church have lately been discovered by excavation the remains of an older church which there can be little doubt was the one referred to by Jerome. In it was found an urn supposed to contain the relics of St. Clement, as it had on its cover the inscription 'Flavii Clementis martyris ex (et?) consulis[1].' It would appear then either that there was some mistake as to the relics said to have been translated into the present church, or that the urn lately discovered contained only some portion of the martyr's body, it may be his heart. The translation must have been from the old church to the new one; the notion which seems to have been entertained by the martyrologist that the body was brought there from the Chersonesus is evidently a mistake.

If we adopt the prevalent notions on this subject we must assume that in the latter half of the first century the two most distinguished of the Roman converts—the one a near relative of the Emperor, the other the spiritual head of the infant Church—alike bore the name of Clement, and alike suffered martyrdom; and secondly, that the early annalists and martyrologists of the Church were so ignorant, not merely of the Church's history, but also of their national annals as recorded by the great classical historians, as to mix together the two stories, and to confound the Consul with the Bishop. I do not think a critical mind will readily yield its assent to either of these assumptions, and there is one circumstance not yet noticed which tends further to show their improbability. According to Eusebius (H. E.

[1] Gent. Mag. Aug. 1866. The Excavations at St. Clemente, Rome. By Rev. J. E. Vaux, M.A. 'A marble slab which formed part of the pavement of the aisle' is said to have had a clear inscription containing the names of the consuls for the year 339 (Gent. Mag. 1863, i. p. 52). The old church therefore was probably built after that date, and it may be not long before the time when Jerome wrote.

3. 18). Flavia Domitilla, sister's daughter to Flavius Clemens, was in the fifteenth year of Domitian banished to Pontia, an island lying near to Pandataria, and used for the same purpose; and Jerome (Ep. ad Eustoch. c. 3) refers to her exile in this island, and to the 'cellulae' in which she suffered a lingering martyrdom. The Roman Martyrology does commemorate this niece of Clemens—can we suppose it would overlook the uncle from whom she derived her social position and dignity? If Clement 'the Pope' were the same person as Flavius Clemens, the uncle has not been overlooked, though his biography has been disfigured by legendary and untruthful details.

It may be asked, if Flavius Clemens were the Roman bishop, how could he discharge the ordinary duties of a Roman consul? I think the best answer to this question may be given by pointing to the change in Christian feelings and practice which gradually took place during the two first centuries. In the Apostolic age the outward distinction between a layman and a minister of the Church appears to have been very slight. Clement, in his epistle to the Corinthians, assumes no title, and the letter merely purports to come from the Church at Rome to the Church at Corinth[1]. St. Paul was a tentmaker, and in his Epistle (c. 37) Clement alludes to the quiet discipline with which soldiers obey 'those who lead us'—an expression which seems to intimate that he had himself discharged and was still ready to discharge the military duties of a Roman citizen. Compliances with heathen customs on the part of the early converts were not unfrequent, and were of various kinds, from the abominations denounced in Rev. 2. 20, to the sitting 'at meat in the idol's temple,' on which St. Paul passes only a qualified censure (1 Cor. 8). The heathen, we know, had lost all faith in the rites he practised and in the

[1] I am here treading on dangerous ground, and have no wish to entangle myself in controversy; but I may briefly state my belief that so far as regards the Epistle of Clement, the fears of the one party and the triumphs of the other are alike unfounded.

mythological symbols that surrounded him. They were in his eyes mere forms without significance. The Christian at first seems to have taken the same view of them, and when he buried his dead in the catacombs, occasionally used—doubtless without any sense of impropriety—tombs covered with the symbols of the religion he had renounced. But when persecution became systematic and searching, and he was called upon publicly to abjure the religion he professed, any act savouring of heathenism became a deadly sin, and he was content to lose his life rather than throw incense on the idol's altar, or do any other act which could be construed into a compliance with heathen worship. It may have been his hesitation to take part in some objectionable rite that first involved Clement in the charge of atheism and led to his martyrdom.

After this slight notice of the general condition and early history of the Roman Church, we will now proceed to discuss the very difficult question, how far this Church originated or promoted the evangelization of Britain. The question really turns upon the interpretation that may be given to two passages respectively found in the works of Bede and of Gildas.

According to Bede (H. E. I. 4), 'In the year from our Lord's incarnation 156, Marcus Antonius Verus, the fourteenth from Augustus, began to reign with his brother Aurelius Commodus, in whose time, when that sainted man Eleutherus presided over the bishopric of the Roman Church, Lucius King of the Britains (Brittanniarum) sent him an epistle praying that by his mandate he might be made a Christian.' According to Nennius (c. 18), 'In the year of our Lord's incarnation 164 (167 or 144 in different MSS.), Lucius the British king, with all the reguli of the whole of Britain, received baptism, a mission having been sent by the Emperors of the Romans and by the Roman Pope Evaristus.'

Eleutherus, it is generally believed, was bishop at Rome from 177 to 191, and Evaristus from 100 to 109, so that the dates above given must be all of them erroneous, owing

to the blundering either of the copyist or of the author. In Bede's day the science of chronology was in its infancy, and his calculations are often false. He was however fond of speculating in these matters, and I have little doubt that the date he really gave was the result of his own computation. The compilers of the Acta Sanctorum give us, as a preface to the first volume of April, two lists of Popes; the first of these is copied from a Vatican MS., and is continued by a single scribe to the year 230, about which time it may have been written; the second is continued to the date 530, and was probably written soon afterwards.

The following are the entries in the two MSS. relating to Eleutherus:—

'Eleutherius annis . . . . fuit temporibus Antonini et Commodi, a consulatu Veri et Erenniani, usque Paterno et Bradua.'

'Eleuther natione Graecus ex patre Abundantio de oppido Nicopoli, sedit annos quindecim, menses tres, dies duos. Fuit temporibus Antonini et Commodi usque Paterno et Bradua. Hic accepit epistolam a Lucio Britanniae rege, ut Christianus efficeretur per ejus mandatum,' &c.

The notice of Lucius which appears in the later MS. is the earliest notice of him to be found in any extant authority. It appears to me to have been introduced from some work which was probably followed by Bede. Bede, I believe, never uses the plural Britanniae except when he is evidently copying some classical or some foreign ecclesiastical writer, and as the catalogue did not furnish the phrase he must have found it elsewhere. In the first half of the sixth century the whole continent was alive with controversy relating to Pelagius and his opponents. The doctors of the Church were writing their tracts on the great questions agitated. Popes were dispatching condemnatory missives, and formal missions were sent to the island where the mischief originated. There was much temptation if not to forge at least to strengthen and embellish evidence tending to show that the church out of

which Pelagius issued owed a daughter's obedience to the mother church of Rome.

There may have been, and there probably was, some tradition that a British king once asked for and received missionary aid from Rome, and some controversialist in Gaul or Italy may have worked up the story into the shape it takes in Bede's history. The well-known deputation sent by the Gaulish bishops to Eleutherus would suggest him as the Roman bishop likely to be applied to, and, as the practice of giving these provincial kings the name of the reigning emperor must have been notorious, the writer may have borrowed one of the names of the Emperor Commodus, under whom Eleutherus flourished, and given the royal applicant the name of Lucius. The hypothesis seems to account satisfactorily for Bede's use of the phrase Britanniae, for the selection of Eleutherus as the Roman bishop, and for the assignment of the name of Lucius to the British king.

The author of the paragraph which appears in Nennius must have had Bede before him when he wrote it. The difference in the dates no doubt originated in blunders of transcription, but the Welsh compiler must have acted deliberately when in naming the Roman bishop he departed from Bede, and instead of Eleutherus gave him the name of Evaristus. He cannot have been led to adopt this name as the result of any criticism, for the whole passage shows him to have been profoundly ignorant of the history of the Roman Church. I can only conjecture that the Welsh tradition that reached him preserved the real name of the Roman bishop, while the vague tradition that reached the writer Bede was copying had lost it; and that the Welsh compiler, though he was content to defer to Bede in other matters, insisted on giving the bishop the name by which his own more perfect tradition recognized him.

If we suppose that Evaristus was the Roman bishop who sent missionaries to Britain, most of the difficulties that surround this question vanish. It is certainly hard to believe that any British chief was allowed to retain the

title of King at a period so late as the episcopate of Eleutherus, or in other words, as the reign of Commodus; but we may reasonably conjecture that the son of King Cogidubnus, the ever-faithful ally of the Romans, would be allowed to retain the title, and he and Evaristus were in all probability contemporaries. We have the very Roman bishop selected whom criticism points out as the one most likely to have played the part assigned to him. Yet he is one of the most obscure of the early Roman bishops, and the Welsh writer who names him is evidently as uncritical as he is unlearned. I know of no mode of accounting for his thus bringing forward the name of Evaristus except the hypothesis that it had been handed down to him in the tradition of the British Church. Let us see how far the result we seem to have arrived at is countenanced by the legends preserved in the martyrologies and other like sources of early ecclesiastical history.

Lucius, the sainted martyr who lies enshrined at Coire in the Grisons, and whose memory is still revered in Bavaria, was, according to some[1], the Lucius of Cyrene mentioned in the Acts (13. 1), according to others he was Lucius, St. Paul's kinsman (Rom. 16. 21); but according to a favourite legend he was the British king Lucius, whom Bede has commemorated. The legendaries tell us that this royal missionary was himself converted by a certain Timotheus who visited Britain, and who, in one or two accounts, is described as St. Paul's disciple. This is an obvious blunder, but there was another member of the early church who figures under the same name, and he, no doubt, was the Timotheus alluded to. The Timotheus in question is represented by certain legendaries as the brother of the sainted virgins Pudentiana and Praxedes, who, according to some, were the daughters, or, according to others, the grand-daughters of Pudens. The reader need hardly be reminded

[1] The learning bearing on this subject has been collected by Ussher (Ant. c. 3). Hallam characterizes the result of Ussher's labours as 'a chaos of chaff' (Arch. 33, p. 312). See below, p. 144.

that two of the oldest churches in Rome are dedicated to the saints Pudentiana and Praxedes.

Now the criticism which connects the Pudens of St. Paul with the Pudens of Martial is of recent date. When, therefore, we find medieval legendaries selecting a kinsman of Pudens as the Roman missionary who preached Christianity in Britain, we are justified in quoting them as bearing independent testimony to the truth of such criticism. Its soundness is also, I think, confirmed by the names of other parties who figure in these early legends, and it will not be time thrown away to follow this inquiry further.

The campaign which resulted in the Roman conquest of South Britain took place in the tenth year after our Saviour's crucifixion; and it brought into intimate relations four men who were certainly the foremost men of that period—the Emperor Claudius, the future Emperor Vespasian, his brother Sabinus, and Aulus Plautius. The friendship which Claudius conceived for the victorious general, no doubt saved his wife, the Christian Pomponia, from a cruel death in the year 57 (vide p. 125); and, when we consider the many ties that must have bound Sabinus to his old commander, we can readily account for those Christian sympathies which prevailed so widely in one branch of Vespasian's family. It would be absurd to suppose that the intimacy which in all probability existed between the families of Sabinus and of Aulus Plautius was present to the mind of the martyrologist when he represented the sister of Flavius Clemens, and therefore daughter of Sabinus, as bearing the name of Plautilla. As from Domitius, a name which prevailed in the family of Vespasian's wife, came the name of the Emperor Domitianus, and also Domitilla, a name borne by at least three ladies of Vespasian's family, we may reasonably infer that Sabinus called his [assumed] daughter Plautilla in honour of the friend under whom he had seen so much military service. The fact also that in a certain

legend (Ussher, Ant. c. 3) Pudens is said to have married a wife named Sabinella, worthless though it be as testimony of the fact, is not altogether without a bearing upon the present question. That during the latter half of the first century there was in the first rank of Roman society a circle of Christian converts cannot, I think, be reasonably doubted; and when we find ancient legends ascribing to its different members such names as Timotheus, Pudentiana, Plautilla, and Sabinella—names which, so associated, are unknown to history, but nevertheless are formed according to analogies which history shows us were most likely to be followed — we may fairly draw the conclusion that these legends, however unfaithful they may be in their details, contain nevertheless *some* mixture of truth. They can hardly be mere gratuitous fictions manufactured by ignorant monks in the middle ages.

* * * * * *

[1] 'Lucius beatus confessor fuit rex Britanniae, baptizatus a Timotheo discipulo Sancti Pauli. Qui regno composito et bene ordinato, relictis omnibus secularibus pompis multisque ad Deum conversis, veniens per Augustam in civitatem Curiae, multis ad vitae perfectionem exemplo et doctrinis inductis, die iii. Decembris, in pace quievit, ut dicit frater Bartholomaeus (Bartholomaeus Anglicus, ut videtur, in Chronico de Sanctis).' Petrus Equilinus de Natalibus, lib. I. c. 24.

'Invenio in *legenda sancti Timothei apostoli*, *quod venerit in Britanniam* et Lucium ejus gentis regem cum totâ insulâ ad fidem Christi converterit, et illud magis concordat Legendae Sancti Lucii, quae habetur in ecclesia Curiensi, ubi fuit episcopus et martyrio coronatus.' Iohannes Nauclerus, Chronograph. vol. 2, generat. 6.

'Quoniam Apostolorum discipuli passim per terrarum orbem Christo ecclesiam colligerent, factum est ut etiam Britannia a S. Pauli auditoribus ab idolorum cultu ad

[1] [The remainder of this fragment is a mere collection of jottings from Ussher, which are here given as furnishing indications of the line of discussion which was contemplated by the author.]

Christum converteretur. Itaque factum est ut *S. Lucius Timothei discipulus* et ex regio Britannorum sanguine prognatus sibi proposuerit plures homines in errore perseverantes Christo lucrificare. Propterea Rhenum ascendens ubique Evangelium praedicavit atque demum in Boioariam pervenit, &c.' Henricus Pantaleon de Viris illustr. Germ. part 1 (ex ecclesiae Curiensis Annalibus).

'Presbyteri illi qui ab apostolis educati usque ad nos pervenerunt, cum quibus semel verbum fidei partiti sumus, a Domino vocati in cubilibus aeternis clausi tenentur. Sanctus Timotheus et Marcus, per bonum certamen transierunt.' Pii Epist. 1, ad Justum Viennens. Episc. in Orthodoxograph. et tom. 1, Conc. edit. Binii an 1618, p. 70.

Baronius (ex antiquis ecclesiasticis tabulis) says that both were martyred under the Emperor Antoninus [1]. (He will not allow this to be Antoninus Pius, in whose reign however Pius was pope, but Marcus Aurelius, i. e. Antoninus Philosophus, in order to support some of his theories.) Mart. Baron. Annal tom. 2, an. 166, § 2.

Others suppose that the apostle of Bavaria was Lucius of Cyrene (Acts 13. 1) or Lucius St. Paul's kinsman (Rom. 16. 21). According to Nennius, c. 18, Lucius was baptized A.D. 167 by the missionary sent by Evaristus (100–109). Elutherius was pope (177–191); Eleutherus pope 177, (vide Clinton). Irenaeus was sent to Eleutherus by the churches of Gaul (Euseb. 5. 4). Hallam calls the legends collected by Ussher 'a chaos of chaff' (Arch. 33, p. 312). This is a popular mode of dealing with a difficult question, but it is not criticism. The chaff contained grains of truth which were well worth the picking up, if Hallam had only had eyes sharp enough to find them.

The parents of St. Agnes lived in the Vicus Patricius, otherwise Vicus Corneliorum: 'The centurion whom St. Paul converted (Acts 10) belonged to this family, and possibly to

[1] Lucius Aurelius Antoninus Commodus was joined in the Imperial government with his father Marcus in the year 177, when he was fifteen years of age, and died A.D. 192.

him the Apostle owed his introduction at Rome to the head of his house, Cornelius Pudens. This senator married Claudia, a noble British lady, and it is singular how the unchaste poet Martial vies with the purest writers when he sings the wedding song of these two virtuous spouses. It was in their house that St. Peter lived, &c. . . . After the death of Pudens the house became the property of his children or grandchildren—two sons and two daughters. The latter are better known because they have found a place in the general calendar of the Church, and because they have given their names to two of the most illustrious churches of Rome, those of St. Praxedes and St. Pudentiana, &c.' Wiseman, Fabiola, 2. 10.

The Eucharist was at first only given at one place, viz. St. Pudentiana. Pope Evaristus 'distributed the titles,' i.e. he multiplied churches at Rome where the Eucharist could be offered. He ordered that the altar should be of stone and blessed, but the altar at St. Pudentiana was of wood, and is the one transferred to the Lateran by Pope Sylvester, of which it forms the high altar. St. Pudentiana was not one of the 'titles.' It was the original pontifical church before titles were created. (Vide Wiseman, Fabiola, 2. 10.)

* * * * * *


ANNO DOMINI 520.
WHITTLEBURY FOREST
Stowe
Stoney Stratford
Fenny Stratford
Dunstable
BEDICAN FORD
Bedford
Riv. Ouse
Watling Street
VEROLAMIUM
SULLONIACÆ
LONDINIUM
LUNDEN BYRIG
GLEVUM
CORINIUM
The Fosse Way
Akeman Street
Wychwood Forest
Aylesbury
CERDICES LEAH
BENSINGTON
WALLINGFORD
Ingleshum
Avon River
Avebury
CUNETIO
VERLUCIO
AQUÆ SOLIS
BEARRUC WUDU
CALLEVA ATTREBATUM
NOVIOMACUS
Holwood Hill
Crayford
DUROBRIVÆ
REGULBIUM
RHIM THANET
RITUPÆ
DUROVERUM
CANTWARA BYRIG
DUBRÆ
PORTUS LEMANNIS
MERSC-WARE
Warminster
Glastonbury
SORBIODUNUM
Heytesbury
WINTE
VENTA BELGARUM
WINTAN CEASTER
ANDRED
ANDREDES LEAH
NATAN LEAH
BERE FOREST
PORTUS MAGNUS
REGNUM
CISSAN CEASTER
PORTUS ADURNI
ANDERIDA
ANDREDES CEASTER
Ringwood
VECTIS
WIHT
River Rother
Scale of Miles

THE EARLY ENGLISH SETTLEMENTS IN SOUTH BRITAIN.

[Extracted from the volume of Proceedings of the Archaeological Institute at Salisbury in 1849.]

PREFACE.

THE following Paper contains the substance of a communication made by the author to the Archaeological Institute during the last year's meeting at Salisbury. As he spoke from very loose notes, he is unable to give an accurate report of what he said on that occasion, but he has followed the general line of his argument, and as his treatment of the subject necessarily partook of a controversial character, it will not be objected to him that he has worked out his details somewhat more fully, and occasionally added to the number of his authorities. He selected this particular subject because he thought that a critical discussion of the grounds on which our early history rested was not unsuited to the locality in which they were assembled, and could hardly be considered ill-timed or uncalled for. The mythical system of exposition which had been long gaining ground amongst us threatened to reduce that portion of our history to the level of a nursery tale, and the later views which had been brought forward under what might almost be considered official sanction appeared to be open to objections equally serious. He ventured, therefore, to canvass the truth of these new theories, and to lay before the Institute the results to which his own researches had led him. Whether they were well or ill founded the reader has now an opportunity of forming an opinion.

TEMPLE, *May* 25, 1850.

There is appended to this paper a Map of the South-eastern portion of Britain and a Chronological Table. The dates furnished by the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* are printed in italics, and those obtained from other sources in Roman characters; and by a like difference of letter, I have distinguished the English and Anglo-Saxon names of places from the Welsh and Latin.

The map is intended to shew the political divisions of Britain in the early part of the sixth century. The ancient roads, whether British or Roman, are marked in continuous or interrupted lines, accordingly as their direction has been more or less perfectly ascertained; and the dikes, which in various places intersect the country, have their vallum indicated by a shaded line, and the foss (when present) indicated by a line more lightly marked.

It is reasonable to infer that, when one of these boundary-lines was drawn between two neighbouring tribes, the earthwork was constructed by the more civilized race, or, in other words, by the race which had the clearest notions of the value and the rights of property. We know from Roman history that the Britons of the coast were a more civilized race than those who dwelt further inland; and it will be observed that the dikes supposed to have been made by the Belgae, as they gradually expelled the British tribes who had preceded them, always have the foss to the northward. Three of these ditches are marked in the map: Bokerly Ditch, south of Salisbury; the Old Ditch, north of Amesbury; and Wansdyke (Wodens dike[1]), portions of which may yet be traced across the island from Berkshire westward to the Bristol Channel. Offa's Ditch, on the borders of Wales, is also in consistency with the principle we are illustrating; for there can be little doubt that in

[1] The etymology suggested by Stukeley, and adopted by Warton, according to which Wansdike came from the Welsh word *gwahan*, 'separation,' is contradicted by all our Anglo-Saxon charters. These invariably name the earthwork *Wodenes dic*. The corruption of Wodens dike to Wansdike is precisely the same we find in our modern pronunciation of *Wednesday*.

Offa's day the Englishmen of the lowlands were more civilized beings than their neighbours, the wild Welshmen of the mountain.

But there are certain dikes, often known by the name of *Grimsdikes*, which at first sight it is not easy to account for on this principle. The Grimsditch, south of Salisbury, has its foss to the south, and, according to the description of Sir R. Colt Hoare, pierces the line of Bokerly ditch, and therefore must have been a later work. As we may infer from Caesar that the Belgae came into Britain not long before his time, it follows that the Grimsditch, which intersects one of their boundary-lines, must have been made at a period which is clearly within the reach of history. Yet, from the day when the Belgae first dug Bokerly ditch till the Romans left the island, when were the southern coasts occupied by races less civilized than those of the interior? Again, the Berkshire Grimsdike, south of Streatley, must have been made by a people who inhabited a woody and intricate country, to separate their district from the open plains to the north-westward. At what period can the construction of such a work in such a locality be accounted for, on any reasonable hypothesis, before the arrival in the island of our ancestors?

It was the opinion of Stukeley that the term Grimsdike was equivalent to 'witches' work; for the vulgar generally think these extraordinary works made by help of the devil'; and I believe his opinion is the one which is generally entertained by English antiquaries at the present day. But the Anglo-Saxon *grim-e*, a witch, forms its genitive in *an*, *grim-an*, while the phrase which answers to Grimsditch is always *Grimes dic*. This form of the genitive requires a masculine or a neuter substantive, *grim*. I have never met with any clear and undoubted example of the use of this substantive; but if we may venture to judge from what appear to be its correlatives[1] in the connected lan-

[1] With the Icelandic *grein-i*, 'to separate,' must be connected the German *gränze*, 'a boundary'; the Swedish *ren* and German *rain*, 'the boundary of a

guages, it must have signified a boundary. This meaning agrees well with the circumstances under which the word occurs in Anglo-Saxon charters and in our modern provincial dialects. Thus, in an Anglo-Saxon charter[1] of the tenth century, we find mention made of a certain locality called 'grimsetene[2] gemaero,' the meers or march of the Grim-setan; and this term *Grim-setan* can only be rendered 'the inhabitants of the *Grim*.' Again, our ancestors must have been well acquainted with the purpose intended to be answered by the Roman walls in North Britain; and accordingly we find the wall of Antoninus still popularly known as the Grimes-dike, and the Scotch Graemes[3] located in its neighbourhood; while at the western extremity of the southern wall are found the English Graemes, and near them and in front of the wall the village of Grimsdale. Lastly, we often find near these dikes names which seem to indicate the vicinity of different races. For instance, immediately north of the Wiltshire Grimsdike, and not many miles from 'Cerdices Ford' (Charford), there is a village still called Britford; and in some of our Anglo-Saxon charters[4] we find in the same neighbourhood another locality called 'Brytta pol,' the pool of the Brits. It would not be easy to account for either of these names except on the hypothesis that around the Grimsdike Britons and Englishmen were once neighbours, and continued so for a period long enough to fix on certain localities names derived from their respective occupants.

I would suggest, therefore, that the names *Grim* and *Grimsdike* may have been given to certain works which

field'; and perhaps the Anglo-Saxon *rim-a*, 'a margin.' With the last word may be compared the Welsh *rhim*, 'a margin,' and the Russian *krom-a*, 'a border.'

[1] See No. 561 of that valuable work, Kemble's Codex Diplomaticus.

[2] *Grim-setene* is, of course, a corruption of *Grim-setena*.

[3] *Grimes* is the southern equivalent for *Graeme*. The names *John Grimes* and *John Graeme* both signify John of the Grime or Graeme. The use of the uninflected word Graeme, instead of the genitive Grimes, is characteristic of the northern dialect.

[4] Cod. Dipl. 778.

were known to our ancestors as having served the purposes of boundary-lines. It is not necessary that they should have been constructed, or indeed even used as boundaries, subsequently to the Saxon occupation of the island. We have no clear evidence that the Scottish Grimesdike was ever used for such a purpose after that event; and the two Grimsdikes which run respectively north of Woodstock and east of Bensington, if we believe the accounts given us of the former by Stukeley and Warton, and of the latter by Plot, must have been ancient British works made long before the arrival of our ancestors, and probably selected by them merely as affording convenient lines of demarcation. The hypothesis above stated seems to be sufficient to account for all the peculiarities connected with this particular class of earthworks.

A very striking feature in the landscape of South Britain, during the sixth century, must have been the vast forest which spread over the wealds of Kent and Sussex, from the mouth of the Rother [1] as far westward, at the least, as Privet [2] in Hampshire. The *Saxon Chronicle* describes it as 120 miles long and 30 miles broad; and its real dimensions were probably much greater than we have represented them. The Welsh called it the Andred, or uninhabited district [3]; and the Anglo Saxons, *Andredes Leah*, or the Lea of Andred. *Natan Leah*, or the Lea of Nat-e, seems to have included that part of the New Forest which lay north of the Roman road from Nutshalling to Ringwood—or, in other words, the natural woodland, which William enlarged into the New Forest, by afforesting the south-western portion of Hampshire—and also that tract of wood and common, on the other side of the Test, through which the Itchin flows into the Southampton Water. It is pretty clear that our modern term Netley, though not the representative, is the equivalent of Natan Leah. Anglo-Saxon names of places sometimes take what may be called

[1] Sax. Chron. an. 893. [2] Ibid. an. 755.

[3] *Andred* is compounded of the negative prefix *an*, and *tred*, 'a hamlet.'

the genitival form, as Natan Leah; and sometimes appear as mere compounds, as Nate-leah. I have never met with the compound Nate-leah, but there can be no doubt it once existed, and that it is now represented by Netley. It will be observed, that at the points where the Roman roads from the coast entered this woodland, we have on both sides of the Southampton Water localities called Netley[1], and these localities in all probability indicated the boundaries of the Lea of Nat-e. *Cerdices Leah*, or the Lea of Cerdic, appears to have consisted of Bernwood Forest and other woodlands to the north of it; and in Chearsley, the name of a village which lies on the eastern border of this district, we probably have a corruption of the old Anglo-Saxon name, Cerdices Leah.

There can be no reasonable doubt that the chases of Waltham and Cranbourne, and the districts which now bear the names of Holt, Chute, Wychwood, Whittlebury, Grimsbury, Pamber, and Bere Forests, are all of them relics of ancient woodlands; and they are accordingly marked as such in the map. Bearruc-wood, from which, as Asser tells us, Berkshire took its name, and where, according to the same authority, the box-tree grew in great abundance, must have included in its range our present Windsor Forest; but, like its representative in the thirteenth century, it probably stretched up the Kennet valley—a district, it may be observed, which Henry III. disafforested, and where are situated Kentbury, Fawleigh, and other places which, in a grant[2] by King John to the Abbey of Amesbury, are mentioned in immediate connexion with certain payments, 'de reditu nemoris de Barroc.' There are some reasons for believing that the woods on the Chiltern Hills were known to the Welsh by the name of Celyddon.

According to Asser, *Ruim* was the Welsh name for

[1] The name of Netley seems to have been common in this woodland district. On the south-eastern border of Clarendon Forest, near Salisbury, was a place called Netley Coppice. Hoare's *Wiltshire*, v. p. 138.

[2] Dugd. Mon. iv. 102.

Thanet. It probably signified a foreland, and is still preserved in the compound Ramsgate[1]. The strait which divided Thanet from the mainland is called by Bede the Wantsumu. The long slip of land lying between the Andred and the Thames appears to have been known to the Britons by the name of the *Caint*, or open country; and the downs west of the Andred by that of the *Gwent*, or champaign. There seem to have been several of these Gwents in Britain; and the Romans obtained their name for the capital towns by turning Gwent into a feminine substantive, and then adding the name of the race which inhabited the particular district, as Venta Belgarum, Venta Icenorum, Venta Silurum, &c. The Saxons also converted the Welsh name of the district into a feminine substantive, *Wint-e*, gen. *Wintan*; and they called the capital of such district *Wintan ceaster*, the city of the Wint-e[2]. Sometimes, instead of this genitival form they used the compound *Winte-ceaster*, and of this compound the modern name of Winchester[3] is most certainly a corruption.

The Venta Belgarum and most of the other British towns were fortified; but they do not seem to have opposed to the invaders the resistance which might have been expected, except in cases where they were also protected by natural defences—by wood, marsh, or river—or lay near one of the two great military lines, that is, either near the Wall in the north of Britain, or on the 'Saxon Frontier.' As my views with respect to this latter district vary widely from those which appear to be generally received at the present time,

[1] In East Kent the gaps in the line of cliff which lead down to the shore are called *gates*. *Ramsgate*, therefore, means the gate or pass leading into *Ruim*.

[2] Monmouthshire, or the Gwent of the Silures, was called *Went* (which is merely a corruption of Wint-e) by our English chroniclers as late as the 15th and 16th centuries.

[3] The strange etymology proposed by Leland, and adopted by Camden, has been again brought forward in some modern works; and Sir R. Colt Hoare, though he refers us to the Venta Belgarum as the origin of the word, adds '*unde derivatur Venta*, I never have been able to ascertain.' *Anc. Hist. N. Wilts.*

I must beg the indulgence of the reader while I explain in what the difference consists, and what were the reasons which led me to adopt the notions I entertain on this subject.

The prevalent opinion at present seems to be, that the Saxon Frontier, or, as it is generally called, the Saxon Shore (though the term used in the *Notitia* is 'Limes Saxonicus')[1], received its name from various Saxon settlements, which date before the arrival of Hengest in 450; and that, when larger bodies of these strangers arrived in the fifth and sixth centuries, they received encouragement and assistance from their countrymen already settled within this island. The German writer Lappenberg has carried out these views with much boldness; and several English authors, some of them occupying no mean position as literary men, have not discountenanced them.

I must begin with denying, what in most of these discussions has been silently taken for granted, that *philological* considerations in any way favour the hypothesis above referred to. The Welsh Marches in Shropshire and the Scotch Marches in Northumberland were so called, not because they were inhabited by Welshmen and Scotchmen, but because they were open to the incursions of these two races, and were provided with a regular military organization for the purpose of repelling their incursions. For precisely similar reasons, I believe the south-eastern coast of Britain was called the 'Saxon Frontier[2].' If the views we

[1] When the officer commanding in this district is formally mentioned, and his authority defined, he is styled 'Comes Limitis Saxonici per Britanniam.' c. 71. In two other places, where he is merely mentioned as one of the subordinates of some imperial officer of higher grade, he is distinguished as a 'Comes Littoris Saxonici per Britannias.' The use of the plural number seems to shew, that in this phrase the compiler was using vague and general language. The more definite title was no doubt the official one.

[2] Lappenberg argues, that as the opposite coast of Gaul was called the 'Littus Saxonicum,' from the Saxon colonists there settled, so the 'Littus Saxonicum per Britannias,' may have received its name from a similar immigration. I would ask him, on what proofs does his *major* rest? I believe the Saxon settlements in Gaul to have been formed at a period *subsequent* to the arrival of Hengest in this country.

In another place (i. 15), with the like view of supporting his theory

are contending against are to stand, the historical grounds on which they rest their claims to our acceptance must be stronger than the philological.

The latest Roman authority on the present subject is to be found in the *Notitia.* It is difficult to say when this work was written, but Gibbon places it between the years 395 and 407, that is to say, a few years before the usurpation of Constantine, which was shortly followed by the retirement of the Romans from this island. At the time it was written, the Roman army in Britain amounted to about 20,000 men, of whom some 5000 were stationed along the Saxon Frontier. They must have had the most complete military occupation of the district. Three of their garrisons lay north of the Thames; and south of this river, in the most exposed part of the frontier, and where, according to Gildas and Bede, the Saxons formed their first settlement, were the garrisons of Reculver, Richborough, Dover, and Lymne, at an average distance of some fourteen miles from each other; and further south, garrisons at Anderida and Portus Adurni. The second legion was at Richborough, and auxiliaries in the other garrisons—Dalmatians, Slaves, Belgic Gauls, Tungrians, &c., but *no Saxons.* At this period it is almost a historical impossibility that there could have been Saxon settlements on the Saxon shore. Nor do I see any reason for believing that such settlements were formed after the departure of the Romans. The Britons would naturally carry out the military system of their late masters, and would no doubt provide, to the

respecting the 'Littus Saxonicum,' he tells us that, according to the Welsh Triads, the Coritavi (Coraniaid) came from 'a Teutonic marshland.' Now one of the Triads informs us, that the 'three invading tribes who finally settled in Britain' were, first, the Coraniaid, who came from the land of Pwyl, and settled near the Humber; secondly, the Irish Picts; and lastly, the Saxons. No one has yet made out who were the Coraniaid, or where was the land of Pwyl. Some think it was Apulia, others say Poland; while Dr. Lappenberg *assumes* it was 'a Teutonic marshland,' and consequently that the Coraniaid were Germans. Had it suited his hypothesis, he would just as readily have converted them into Finns, or Slaves, or Basques.

best of their ability, for the defence of this important frontier. We must remember, that the Roman soldiers resembled less the mercenaries of our own army, than the colonists settled along the military frontiers of Austria. They were stationary in the same garrisons for generations; and, in the course of time, would naturally give birth to a military population speaking the Latin language (for the various origin of the auxiliaries would necessitate the use of Latin as a common tongue), and doubtless, in other respects, distinguished from the provincials around them. The Saxon Frontier was probably filled with a high-spirited race, who were alike by descent, by inclination, and by necessity, soldiers. Instead of welcoming the invaders, we shall see reason to believe that they opposed to them the fiercest and most desperate resistance; and as the Britons of Strath-Clyde, though of all the Northern Britons the most exposed, maintained their independence the longest, so the 'Saxon Frontier' appears to have been the district which last yielded to the invaders of Kent and Sussex.

The authorities by which conflicting opinions on these subjects must be finally settled, may be divided into two classes—the Welsh and the English.

Our oldest Welsh authorities are the two works of Gildas, his Epistle and his History. The History was written in the author's forty-fourth year (which seems to have coincided with the year 564), and the Epistle some twelve or fourteen years earlier. I am not aware that the genuineness of these works has been questioned by any one[1] whose scholarship or whose judgment is likely to

[1] 'Would a British ecclesiastic write invective against his own church and countrymen? The work must have been *forged* by some Anglo-Saxon during the dispute between the two churches respecting the celebration of Easter.' Such, in substance, is the criticism which has been sometimes ventured upon, and which has been lately reproduced in the compilation made by Mr. Thomas Wright, and published by the Royal Society of Literature, under the title of 'Biographia Brit. Literaria.' It might be sufficient to answer, that all our early writers, from Bede downwards, received this 'forgery' as a genuine work. But, in truth, the criticism shews an ignorance of the habits and feelings of the time. Gildas looked upon himself less as a native Briton than as a Roman

give weight to his opinion. They may be considered the safest guides now left to us; and he that would write the history of this early period will do well to abandon any speculation which cannot be reconciled with the facts handed down to us by Gildas.

The work which bears the name of *Nennius*, was most probably written in the eighth century. It is a compilation made originally without much judgment, and it has been preserved in MSS. which are singularly corrupt and contain an extraordinary discrepancy of statement. Still, however, it contains fragments of earlier works, which are of great interest and value. The materials are said to have been collected 'tam de Annalibus Romanorum, quam de Chronicis sanctorum, et *de scriptis Scotorum Anglorumque*, et ex traditione veterum nostrorum[1].' The editors of the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, lately published by the Record Commission, would confine the 'writings of the English' to certain Anglo-Saxon genealogies which Nennius inserted in his History; but there is reason to believe that he had before him a copy of the *Saxon Chronicle*, which in its main features did not differ very widely from those which have survived to our own times. His Welsh legends are genuine; that is, they are the invention of the

provincial; not, indeed, a subject of the Roman Empire, but a participator in Roman civilization, an upholder of the 'Romania,' an opponent of the 'Barbaria' of his country. In what terms the ecclesiastics of the fifth and sixth century could write of their brother provincials, whether lay or clerical, may be seen in Salvian's works, *Adversus Avaritiam*, lib. ii.; *De Provid. Dei*, lib. v, vii, &c. Mr. Wright asserts that the princes whose names appear in the 'Epistle' are not mentioned in any other work till the time of Geoffrey of Monmouth. He is altogether mistaken. Maelgwn is mentioned in the poems of Llywarch Hen, in the History of Nennius, in the Book of Llandaff, and in the Annales Cambriae; and Constantine in the Annales Cambriae and in the Annals of Tigernach. I may add, that the facts recorded of these princes are in perfect consistency with the narrative of Gildas.

[1] The preface, which was probably an addition of the ninth or tenth century, states that the compilation was made 'partim majorum traditionibus, partim scriptis, partim etiam monimentis veterum Britanniae incolarum, partim et de Annalibus Romanorum, insuper et de Chronicis sanctorum patrum, Ysidori scilicet, Ieronymi, Prosperi, Eusebii, necnon et *de historiis Scotorum Saxonumque*.'

people, and not mere fictions of the writer, like so many of those which Geoffrey of Monmouth has recorded. His dates, when the interval is short, as when he states that an event took place in such a year of a reign, may be relied upon; for in these cases the date seems generally to be taken at once from a Welsh chronicle; but when he displays his scholarship, and attempts chronology, the gross ignorance of himself, or of his transcribers, becomes flagrant, and no two MSS. are consistent with each other.

The *Annales Cambriae* and the *Welsh Chronicle*, contained in the *Red Book* of Hergest, are useful works. The former seems to have been originally written in the middle of the tenth century. The number of years said to have elapsed between certain events appears, however, to be sometimes erroneously computed; and the dates, according to the vulgar era, which have been supplied by the editors in the *Mon. Hist. Brit.* are clearly wrong in some instances, and in many others questionable.

The History of Geoffrey of Monmouth appeared in the middle of the twelfth century, and was denounced by the ablest men of the day as an impudent imposture. But it was patronized by the Earl of Gloucester, whose vanity it ministered to, and the influence of this powerful noble gave it a popularity which soon spread throughout Europe. Few of our later historians dare to question the truth of Geoffrey's statements; but his history is only a larger collection of the legends to which Nennius introduced us, added to and 'embellished' without scruple, partly from his own imagination, and partly, no doubt, from foreign sources[1], and impudently obtruded upon the reader as a translation of a Breton original.

In some cases we can trace these fictions to their origin. Welsh writers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries often mistranslated English and Latin terms. Thus they translated Chichester (which is really a corruption of the Anglo-

[1] We have reason to believe that many of his fables, and more particularly those respecting Arthur, originated in Breton legends.

Saxon Cissa-ceaster, the city of Cissa), into Caer Kei; and Somerset (which literally means the inhabitants of Somer, wherever that district may be) they converted, by their translation, into 'the country of Summer.' Geoffrey not only mistranslated, but sometimes invented a myth on the strength of his mistranslation. Ambres-burh, the Anglo-Saxon name of Amesbury, is generally considered, and I incline to think rightly, as signifying the burgh of Ambres, and as answering to the Welsh Caer Emrys, the city of Ambrosius. Geoffrey seems to have taken Ambres for a genitive case; and forthwith he invents an Abbot Ambrius, founder of the great monastery which once existed in that neighbourhood, and which he calls *Ambrii monasterium.* His St. Amphibalus, as Ussher himself remarked, is evidently the representative of the abbot's *amphibalum*, beneath which the 'two royal youths' sought refuge when they fled from their murderer Constantine. In another case, the mistranslation of a *Welsh* title seems to have originated a fable. Nennius, the oldest historical writer who mentions Arthur, says he was called *mab uthyr*, the terrible boy, 'because he was cruel from his childhood.' Now this expression will also admit of the construction 'son of Uther'; and its mistranslation no doubt gave birth to Geoffrey's Uther Pendragon, brother and successor of Ambrosius, and father of the invincible Arthur. This story of Uther is inconsistent with the accounts we find in Gildas respecting the descendants of Ambrosius, and seems to have given rise to more falsification of our early history than any other legend connected with it.

Our oldest English authority is the *Saxon Chronicle*; for, though it was probably reduced to its present shape in the ninth century, yet many of its entries must have been written long before the age of Bede: and indeed, in his Ecclesiastical History he actually refers to some of them as portions of chronicles then extant. Amid all the diversity of opinion which has prevailed as to the origin of the Saxon Chronicle, it has been generally admitted that, *after*

the introduction of Christianity, our ancestors did possess certain written records illustrative of their national history; the question asked has been, What records had they *before* that date? what memorials did they leave of events which occurred during the hundred and fifty years of heathenism?

Many who have discussed these questions seem to have looked upon our heathen ancestors as hardly raised above the New Zealander in civilization. Yet we have reason to believe that in military science they were inferior to none of their contemporaries; and in their barrows we find ornaments and utensils which were certainly not the work of Roman or British artists, and which nevertheless display no mean skill in the arts of manufacture. They possessed a vernacular literature; for—to say nothing of Beowulf and the Battle of Fins-Burgh—where is the Saxon scholar who would venture to place the *Gleeman's Song* at any later period in the history of Anglo-Saxon literature? Their princes seem to have ranked with the leading sovereigns of Europe; and the heathen Ethelbert married the daughter of Charibert[1], the Christian king of Paris. Is it likely that a people filling such a place in the scale of civilization, and in the estimation of their contemporaries, should not have had *some* means of recording the accessions and the deaths of their kings, and the other leading events of their history?

But it has been asked, What era did they compute by? what characters did they use? what materials did they write on? In answer to the first of these questions, I would answer *none*. 'In the sixth year (after his arrival), Hengest fought, &c. Two years afterwards, Hengest again fought, &c. After eight years, Hengest again took up arms, &c.' Such was the manner in which Ethelwerd chronicled events in the tenth century; and in like manner, the early Welsh chronicles furnish us with relative instead of absolute dates; the whole string of events de-

[1] Greg. Tur. t. ii. lib. ix. c. 26.

pending on the current year, instead of being measured from some fixed aera. All that our ancestors could wish to know was, how many years ago a particular event had happened; and such knowledge they could obtain from these rude records, without troubling themselves about the reigns of Roman emperors, or the dates of Roman consulships. As to the *characters* in which these facts were recorded, what could they be but the runes which our ancestors brought with them into the island, and which, even after the Roman letters had been introduced by the Christian missionaries, were regarded with so much favour, that we often find them transcribed in our MSS. even as late as the thirteenth century, with the title *Alphabetum Anglicum* written over them. As to the *materials* on which these records were written, how could there be lack of these, as long as Britain grew oak, or beech, or alder?[1]

Another objection has been raised by Dr. Lappenberg. Certain events recorded at the beginning of the Chronicle happen to be separated from each other by an interval of eight years; and on the strength of this fact, the German author starts the theory, that the early dates of our Chronicle are regulated according to 'a cycle of eight years.' An Englishman would have considered it incumbent on him to show very satisfactory reasons why our ancestors selected this particular number. Dr. Lappenberg's attempt is as weak as it well can be; the number 8 is a divisor of 24, and of the 'probably historic' numbers 40 and 64; it may have some astronomical allusions, or be founded

[1] If we may trust our Welsh antiquaries (Iolo MSS. 206), 'bardic frames' were manufactured in the poorer districts of Wales as late as the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Their construction was simple enough. A straight stick of oak, or of one of the softer woods, was carefully squared and painted. Letters were then cut on each of the four faces, through the coloured surface, so as to give them the relief afforded by the natural colour of the wood. A certain number of these sticks were then ranged between two side-pieces, in such a manner as to allow of their revolving on their axes, and thus enabling the reader to bring each of the four faces before him in its turn. Two of these frames might have contained all the entries in the Chronicle, relating to the century and a half which elapsed before the introduction of Christianity.

on 'some myth'; 40, one of its multiples, was used by the Persians as an indefinite number; and so forth. He endeavours to prove his case in a different manner. He takes the different events recorded in the Chronicle, and counts the number of years that elapsed from the landing of the Saxons, sometimes including and sometimes excluding the year he counts from; so that, for each event, he gets two chances of finding a number divisible by 8. If these fail him, he has recourse to one of our later historians; and as the difference of a year, for reasons that will be hereafter given, is exceedingly common in the dates of these early writers, he thus obtains another chance of finding his favourite multiple.[1] By keeping out of sight his failures, and bringing under the reader's notice instances in which he has succeeded, he endeavours to impress him with the truth of his theory. By a similar mode of manipulation he might have made out an almost equally strong case for several other numbers—the number 6 for example.

It has always appeared to the writer most unreasonable to doubt, that from their first arrival in the island, our ancestors had *some* mode of registering the events of their history. From these rude memorials were probably formed more perfect registers, which gradually swelled into the chronicles we now possess. The oldest extant copy of the Saxon Chronicle was written shortly before the year 900, or at the close of Alfred's reign; but we know that some of its entries were copied, almost verbatim, from chronicles which must have been in existence before the time of Bede;

[1] [Lappenberg, Geschichte von England, i. 76.] To increase his chances of success, Dr. Lappenberg avails himself of the discrepancies of our MSS., and not unfrequently represents a mere *inference* as though it were a recognized historical fact. Thus, under the date 530, the Chronicle informs us that Cerdic took Wihtgara-burh in the Isle of Wight; and when recording his death, four years afterwards, tells us that he gave the island to his two nephews, Stuf and Wihtgar. Now, the arrival in Britain of these two chiefs happens to date just sixteen years before the conquest of Wihtgara-burh; so, to make the entry square with his theory, he gives *them* the honour of the victory: 'After twice eight years, *Stuf and Wihtgar, with their uncle,* gained a great victory in the Isle of Wight,' &c.

and there are others which may have been written at a time when Hengest and Ambrosius were yet rivals. As to the credit which is due to the *chronology* of these early records, I think we may rely on the good sense and the good faith both of those who made the original entries, and of those who made the subsequent compilations; but there is reason to believe that some of these chroniclers began the year at mid-winter and others at Easter; and consequently we must sometimes expect to find the difference of a year in their computations. We should also remember that the monks, who put the chronicles into their present shape, lived at a time when the science of chronology was imperfectly understood; and therefore, in reducing the dates to the vulgar era, may sometimes have been betrayed into mistakes. Making all fair allowances, I believe the dates of our chronicles will well bear examination, though they may not exhibit the critical accuracy of later works, which, with strange inconsistency, is required of them by many, who affect to place these venerable records on the same level with 'the myths' and the fables of Livy.

Bede was born in 673, or about eighty years after the arrival of Augustin in this country. His Ecclesiastical History reaches to the year 731. In it he tells us that he learned the facts of our history before the introduction of Christianity 'ex priorum maxime scriptis, hic inde collectis.' Among these 'writings of the ancients,' the works of Gildas appear to have held a high place in his estimation; but he doubtless also included in the phrase the *scripta Scotorum Anglorumque,* to which Nennius acknowledges his obligations, and to which he himself has more than once expressly referred. When he states a fact, on what appears to be the authority of one of these ancient chronicles, he sometimes adds 'ut perhibent,' 'perhibetur,'[1] &c.; not that he entertained any 'critical doubts' as to the truth of such statements, but, as it would seem, merely

[1] The very same phrases are used by Ethelwerd, when quoting some of the *later* entries of the Chronicle.

to distinguish between these rude native records and the better-digested testimony of the Latin historians.

The histories of Asser,[1] of Ethelwerd, and of Florence of Worcester, so far as they relate to the period we have to review, are all of them based on the Saxon Chronicle. The additional information, however, which they occasionally give is sometimes of value.

The graphic details with which Henry of Huntingdon enlivens the scanty records of our early history differ widely from the slight additions we owe to these three historians. Whence he obtained them I cannot tell; and it is strange indeed that in an age so sceptical so little scepticism should have been excited on a subject that is fairly open to it. The 'ancient poems' which figure so largely in the speculations of Lappenberg and others, as one of the sources which supplied materials for the Chronicle, may possibly have performed that office for Huntingdon; though we may doubt if there be any connexion between them and the short dry notices which form the great staple of our Saxon Chronicle. That Huntingdon sometimes yielded to his imagination there is no doubt: his account of the battle of Aylesford may be called 'a myth,' or any other hard name the reader chooses, for it is most certainly a fiction.[2]

All our historians who wrote after the publication of Geoffrey's history, show traces, more or less, of the influence which he exercised. When, like Wendover, they furnish dates, or when their accounts are inconsistent with Geoffrey's narrative, they may nevertheless be of service; for in these

[1] Asser was a Welshman; but, from the circumstances under which his history was written, it must rank as one of the English authorities.

[2] According to the Chronicle, the Britons at Aylesford were commanded by Vortigern, and Horsa was slain; according to Nennius, the Britons at Episford were commanded by Vortimer, and Horsa and Catigern lost their lives; according to Huntingdon, Ambrosius commanded at Aylesford, Vortimer and Catigern were his lieutenants, and Horsa and Catigern fell. Nennius, no doubt, wished to reconcile Welsh history with the Saxon Chronicle, and Huntingdon to reconcile Nennius with Gildas. Both have distorted history, but Huntingdon has added bad faith to bad criticism; for his detailed account of the battle, which was evidently accommodated to his hypothesis, can be nothing else but invention.

cases we may reasonably infer that they drew their information from other and more trustworthy sources.

It will be seen that, in the opinion of the writer, our two oldest authorities are also our best. It is both amusing and instructive to observe, that those who assail the credit due to Gildas and the Chronicle, generally treat their testimony as unimpeachable, *when it does not interfere with any favourite theory*. The author would consider any theory relating to our early history which is inconsistent with that testimony as worthless.

In discussing the present question, we have had, or shall have, to examine various adverse theories. These theories, it should be remembered, are inconsistent, not only with the views of the present writer, but also with each other. He does not stand one against, but one among, many; and as his views agree with those of our early historians, he might even claim for them whatever deference is due to opinions which have long met with general acceptance. But it is not on mere weight of authority that he rests their claims to consideration, nor even upon the weakness and insufficiency of the conflicting theories; but on the great balance of probabilities in their favour, in their consistency with the character of the times, and in the wonderful correspondence of dates. Let the reader, as he proceeds, observe how strikingly coherent are the following dates: the date of the application to Aetius, which we learn from Gildas; of the arrival of the Saxons, which we learn from Bede; of the first battle with Vortigern, which we learn from the Chronicle; of the accession of Vortigern, and of the disturbances headed by Guitolinus and Ambrosius, which we learn from fragments preserved by Nennius. Would he find any such congruity in 'a mythical history'? If he be a mathematician, let him calculate the chances against it.

According to Gildas, the Britons, suffering from famine and from the ravages of the Picts and Scots, applied to the Romans for aid. Their letter was addressed, 'Aetio ter

consuli'; and as Aetius was consul for the third time in 446, it cannot have been written before this date. Failing in their application, they 'put their trust in God,' attacked and repulsed the enemy. This period of trial was followed by seasons of unexampled plenty, when the Britons, relapsing into their old vices, again suffered the miseries of invasion. The General Council (*omnes consiliarii*), together with Vortigern, king (*dux*) of the Britons, then resolved to call the Saxons to their aid.

'The whelps of the barbarian lioness' arrived in three ships of the largest size (*tribus longis navibus*), and, at the bidding of the 'ill-omened tyrant,' were stationed in the eastern part of the island. They were afterwards joined by a larger band, and, professing themselves ready to meet any perils for the sake of their 'worthy hosts,' required that supplies should be furnished them. These were provided, and for a while stopped the 'dog's mouth,' until the strangers, anxious for a quarrel, demanded larger supplies, and when they were not forthcoming, ravaged the country.

Such is the account of the arrival of our ancestors, which a British writer, born some seventy years after the event, has left us. He was a man of education and position, and must have had within his reach every means of information which his countrymen then possessed. I see nothing in his story to alarm even the most jealous scepticism, and I am not ashamed to confess that it carries with it my entire belief.

In addition to the account left us by Gildas, Bede tells us that the strangers defeated the Picts and Scots, and were commanded by two brothers, named Hengest and Horsa[1].

[1] 'Duces fuisse *perhibentur* eorum primi duo fratres Hengist et Horsa.' *H. Eccl.* l. xv. From this it has been inferred that Bede had critical doubts about the truth of the story. I have already mentioned the construction I put upon these phrases. Bede was a stranger to South Britain, and he was in all probability quoting some Kentish chronicle.

According to Palgrave, 'the names bestowed upon the sons of Whitgils seem to be poetical epithets rather than real denominations; both have the same meaning, and signify the "snow-white steed," &c., whose form, still constitut-

He also in three different passages fixes the date of their arrival in the reign of Marcian (450-457), and, according to the construction generally put on one of these passages [1], in the *first* year of this reign. It is true, that in two of these passages Bede places the beginning of Marcian's reign in the year 449, and in one of them in the year 452 [2], instead of the true date 450. The compilers of our Saxon Chronicle, and our modern historians generally, adopt the date 449; though Florence of Worcester had left the latter an example which might have been followed with advantage. This sensible writer fixes the arrival of our ancestors in 450, and cites Bede as his authority for so doing. He saw Bede's error, and corrected it; for he knew the *essential* part of this statement to be, that our ancestors arrived in the first year of Marcian's reign. He was, no doubt, aware that computation by the vulgar aera was still a novelty in Bede's day, and that even scholarship like his might occasionally stumble in a path so little trodden; and certainly he did not consider a few slight errors in calculation sufficient to destroy Bede's credit as a historian.

The editors of the *Mon. Hist. Brit.* take a different view of this matter; and as their authority is likely to carry weight with it, I make no apology for examining the reasons on which their conclusions are founded.

ing the heraldry of Kent, adorned the standard which led them forth to victory.' *Eng. Comm.* c. xii. I would answer, that Hengest was an Anglo-Saxon name, just as Wolf and Fox are English ones; that the association of two brothers in command was characteristic of the times and of the people; as was also the alliteration and the play of meaning which connect together the names of Hengest and Horsa. The assertion that the Jutes bore 'a snow-white steed' on their banner, has no authority quoted in support of it, though an important inference is drawn from it in a note. I do not remember anything on the subject in Gildas, or Bede, or Nennius, or the Chronicle, or Ethelwerd, or Asser, or Florence, or even Huntingdon. What authority is there for the statement?

[1] 'Anno ab incarnatione Domini quadringentesimo quadragesimo nono Marcianus cum Valentiniano regnum adeptus septem annis tenuit. *Tunc* Anglorum sive Saxonum gens,' &c. *Hist. Eccl.* l. xv.

[2] Lappenberg says 459; but he has not put the right construction on the passage in Bede: vid. Chronicon, A.M. 4410.

Nennius tells us that after the slaughter of the Roman governors and the death of the usurper Maximus, *and the termination of the Roman rule in Britain*, the Britons for forty years were kept in alarm by their various enemies, till the arrival of the Saxons, an event which is said in MSS. to have happened in the reign of Marcian, and in others 'regnante Gratiano Secundo Aequantio.' This last passage seems to be hopelessly corrupt. I can only surmise that some copyist, ignorant of Marcian's name, or puzzled by the corrupted form in which it was presented to him, supplied his own date, and in so doing confounded the arrival of the Saxons in the time of Vortigern with the dreadful inroad made by them some eighty years previously, and which occupied the time and energies of the first Theodosius during the first and second years of Gratian's reign. The dangers which afterwards led the Britons to remove the Roman officers, and to provide for their own safety, must have been long remembered; and the termination of the Roman rule in Britain was considered by all our early historians as an event of the gravest importance. Nennius[1], like the Greek historian Zosimus, places it in the reign of the usurper Constantine (407–411), and Bede in the year in which Rome was taken by the Goths[2], or A.D. 409, while he fixes the arrival of the Saxons in 449. Here, then, we have the forty years to which Nennius is alluding; and thus far we find a sufficient correspondence between our three oldest historians, Gildas, Bede, and Nennius.

[1] Nenn. c. xxv. Twenty years elapsed between the death of Maximus and the usurpation of Constantine; and, in his list of the emperors who visited Britain, Nennius places Constantine *next but two* after Maximus. It is clear, therefore, that Nennius, though he mentions in the same sentence the death of Maximus and the termination of the Roman rule in Britain, must have known that these events were separated from each other by a considerable interval of time.

[2] The Goths entered Rome by capitulation in 409, and carried it by storm the following year. The expressions of Bede may perhaps refer to the latter event; and as Florence of Worcester places the departure of the Romans in 410, and the arrival of the Saxons in 450, *this* interval of forty years may possibly have been the one which Nennius had in view.

But in some of the copies of Nennius we also find certain chronological notices, according to which Vortigern obtained the kingdom in the consulship of Theodosius and Valentinian (A.D. 425), and the Saxons arrived in the fourth year of his reign, in the consulship of Felix and Taurus (A.D. 428). It will be seen these dates contradict not only Gildas and Bede, but also the account which Nennius himself has given us in the regular course of his history. I can only suppose that the writer, whoever he may have been, counted the forty years by mistake *from the death of Maximus*,[1] which would just bring him to the consulship of Felix and Taurus. He probably knew from the Welsh chronicles that the Saxons arrived in the fourth year of Vortigern's reign, and accordingly fixed upon the consulship of Theodosius and Valentinian as the date of Vortigern's accession.

Strange as it may seem, the editors of the *Mon. Hist. Brit.* actually adopt this date for the arrival of the Saxons. They make a feeble attempt to reconcile it with the former passage in Nennius; and they get over the adverse testimony of Gildas and Bede, by pointing to the chronological errors of the latter, and asserting that Gildas has not related events in the order in which they occurred. The latter piece of criticism is opposed to the construction which has been put on the narrative of Gildas from Bede's day to the present, and appears to be directly opposed to every fair construction of that author. According to the chronology adopted, Hengest must have lived more than sixty years after his arrival in this country; and there are other consequences equally startling. If I were called upon to make my choice, I do not know but I would rather side at once with Palgrave and the Germans, and melt Hengest into a 'myth.'

The Chronicle, under the date 449, informs us that the

[1] In support of this conjecture it may be observed, that in some of the Triads the death of Maximus and the termination of the Roman rule in Britain are treated as if they were synchronous events.

Saxons landed at *Ypwines fleot*, which is generally supposed to be Ebbsfleet in Thanet. The rest of the entry was probably taken from Bede. I speak with some little hesitation, because the sentence in Bede, which gives us the information not found in Gildas, contains the Anglo-Saxon idiom, *victoriam sumpsere*; whence perhaps it might be inferred that there was some early Anglo-Saxon authority, of which both Bede and the Chronicler were copyists.

All that we can know of the war which took place between Vortigern and his dangerous allies, must be gathered from the two following entries in the Chronicle:

'A. 455. Now Hengest and Horsa fought with Wyrtgeorn the king, at the place which is called Aegeles-ford; and his brother Horsa there was slain, and after that Hengest took to the kingdom and Aesc his son.'

'A. 457. Now Hengest and Aesc his son fought with the Bryts at the place which is called Creccan ford, and there slew they 4000 men; and the Bryts then forsook Kentlond, and with much fear fled to Lunden-bury.'

The place where the first of these battles was fought is called by Ethelwerd Aegeles-thrip, and by Huntingdon Aeiles-treu. Aegeles or Egeles seems to be the Welsh word *eglwys*, a church, Lat. *ecclesia*. Aylesford church, which probably occupies the same site as the Welsh Eglwys, is situated on the top of the bank over-hanging the village, and its remarkable position explains the propriety of the names, Aegeles-ford, Aegeles-thrip, or Aeilestreu, that is, Church-ford, or Church-village, or Church-cross.[1] This ford of the Eglwys is the lowest on the Medway; and here, we have reason to believe, an ancient British trackway crossed the river. Vortigern was evidently watching this ford to protect West-Kent from invasion when Hengest attacked him.

[1] In like manner, *Aegeles burh*, the Anglo-Saxon name for Aylesbury, means the Church-burgh. It would be difficult to find a more appropriate name for this ancient town. On the sides of its conical hill may still be traced some portions of the old earthworks; while on the summit, and rising over the other buildings, stands the venerable successor of the Welsh *eglwys*.

Bede mentions that Horsa's monument existed in his day in the eastern part of Kent, and still bore the name of the Saxon chief. From the Chronicle we learn that Horsa fell at Aylesford; and two miles north of this village is a place called Horsted, where the peasantry point out a collection of flint-stones as the tomb of Horsa.[1] Does not this 'undesigned coincidence' strongly corroborate the truth of the entry in the Chronicle?

The name of the place where the second battle was fought is written in some copies of the Chronicle, *Crecgan-ford*, and by Huntingdon *Cregan-ford.* This is important; for no one who has studied the letter-changes of our language would venture the hypothesis, that our modern Crayford was the equivalent of *Creccan-ford.* The following appears to be the true explanation of the philological difficulty. The Britons seem to have been almost unable to distinguish between some of the hard and soft letters; at any rate, there was much inconsistency in their use of them. The river Cray was probably called by them both Crec and Creg, which our ancestors would convert into feminine substantives, Crecc-e and Cregg-e, gen. Crecc-an and Cregg-an. The form Crecc-e seems to have become obsolete, and Cregg-e has been gradually corrupted into Cray.

Before we investigate the state of parties among the Britons at this juncture, it may be well to take a glance at their legendary history. According to Geoffrey of Monmouth, after Aetius had refused his aid, the King of Armorica was induced to send a small force under the command of his brother Constantine, who was crowned king of Britain at Silchester. Constantine at his death left three sons, Constans a monk of Winchester, Aurelius Ambrosius, and Uther Pendragon. His son Constans succeeded him, and was shortly afterwards murdered by one of the princes of South Wales, named Vortigern, who

[1] Arch. ii. 107. Of course it will not be taken for granted that these flint-stones must necessarily be the tomb of Horsa.

usurped the throne. The Archbishop of London, Guitolinus, fearing for the safety of his young wards, Ambrosius and Uther, carried them into Brittany; and Vortigern, in order to strengthen his tottering throne, allied himself with the Saxons.

This is in part a travestie of real history. The usurper Constantine passed over to Gaul A.D. 408, and after various turns of fortune, was there slain with his son Constans, whom he had taken from the cloister, and associated with him in the empire. According to Gildas, the Britons gained their first successes against the Saxons under the guidance of Ambrosius Aurelianus, whom he describes as a man of modesty, 'courteous, faithful, brave, and true,' as of Roman descent, and as having in the general calamity lost his relatives (*parentes*), who had been *clothed with the purple.*

There is no doubt we have here some incorrectness of statement. As no Roman usurper appeared in Britain after the death of Constantine, it is pretty clear that he and his son Constans were the relatives of Ambrosius, whom Gildas describes as having been clothed with the purple. But these, we know, perished in Gaul some half century before the ravages of the Saxons. Gildas may have wished merely to say that Ambrosius survived the national calamity in which his relatives perished, when the associations connected with the word 'parentes' led him to add the clause which has produced this confusion. Nothing is more common in these early histories than to place in juxtaposition events that were really separated from each other by considerable intervals of time; but the present is perhaps the only instance in which this melting together of distant events has betrayed Gildas into an absolute misstatement of facts.

Both our legendary and our real history lead to the inference that, after the retirement of the Romans, there were two great parties in Britain: the Roman, which seems to have been headed by descendants of the usurper Constantine, or, in other words, by members of the family of

Ambrosius, and the native, or British party. The application to Aetius was doubtless made at the instance of the Romanized Britons; and his refusal to grant them the succours they asked for would naturally give the ascendency to their political rivals. We learn from the passage in Nennius already quoted, and which was probably taken from a British chronicle, that the Saxons arrived in the fourth year of Vortigern's reign; it follows that, if they arrived in the first year of Marcian's reign, as Bede tells us, that Vortigern must have been made king not long after the application to Aetius; and it is fair to conclude that he owed his elevation to the triumph of his party on that occasion. When, after the battle of Crayford, the Britons forsook Kent, and 'with much fear fled to Lunden-bury,' the power of Vortigern must have been rudely shaken. Nennius tells us that, while he reigned, he lived in fear of the Picts and Scots, and of Roman attack—that is, of an attack from the Romanized Britons—and also in terror of Ambrosius. That his fear of Ambrosius and the Roman party was not groundless, we learn from the following passage, for the preservation of which we are also indebted to Nennius:

'A regno Guorthigerni usque ad discordiam Guitolini et Ambrosii, anni sunt duodecim, quod est Guoloppum, id est Catguoloph.'

This important entry, which its very form shows us must have been taken from an ancient Welsh chronicle,[1] has been misunderstood by Ussher, and has led to grave mistakes in the hands of later writers. Lappenberg and others convert the Archbishop Guitolinus into 'a British prince'; not the foster-father and patron, but the rival and enemy of Ambrosius. The passage, as I take it, should be construed thus:

[1] Compare the following extracts from the *Annales Cambriae*:

'ccc.xvi. annus. Bellum inter Brittones et Saxones; id est, gueith Hirford (the affair of Hereford).

'cccc.xxii. annus. Urbs Ebrauc vastata est; id est, Cat Dub gint (the battle of the Black Gentiles, or Danes).'

'From the beginning of Vortigern's reign to the dissensions headed by Guitolinus and Ambrosius, are twelve years. This is the Guoloppum, i.e. the battle of Guoloph.' Counting twelve years from the date of Vortigern's accession, the 'discordia Guitolini et Ambrosii' must have taken place two years after the battle of Crayford. We may conjecture that the defeated monarch fled from Kent, only to meet his political enemies in London; and that the quarrel between them gradually ripened into open war. As we have reason to believe that the family interest of Ambrosius lay in Wiltshire and its neighbourhood; and as, near the Roman road from Old Sarum to Silchester, and immediately below the remarkable fortress on Quarley Hill, lies a wide tract of country called the Wallop Fields, it is not improbable that here was fought the battle commemorated in this fragment. How long the war lasted we do not know; but, according to Geoffrey, Vortigern maintained himself for some time in South Wales, and there perished.

Before we dismiss this ill-fated chief, we may remark that the only testimony against him, which has any historical value, are the expressions used by Gildas, 'tyrannus superbus,' 'tyrannus infaustus'; and when we remember the strong Roman prejudices of the writer, we may not feel inclined to press these very strongly against him. The story we find in Nennius, of his treacherous dealings with the Saxons, is inconsistent with the accounts in the Saxon Chronicle, and was probably invented by the Welsh some two or three centuries after his death, to lessen the mortification of defeat. The rebukes which, according to the same authority, he received from Germanus and the clergy, are probably the legendary accounts of disputes which must have often taken place between him and Guitolinus.

According to Wendover, Ambrosius was made king A.D. 464; but there are reasons, which will appear hereafter, for preferring the year 463. We may conjecture, that, as Vortigern's successes against the Picts seem to have

placed him at the head of his party, and consequently on the throne of Britain, so the successes against the Saxons which Gildas attributes to Ambrosius, may have paved the way to his attaining the same dignity. We have learnt from the Chronicle, that after the battle of Crayford 'the Brits forsook Kent-lond.' By 'Kent-lond,' as here used, we must understand the Welsh district called the Caint, or, in other words, the open country lying along the river; for Gildas tells us, that after the ravages of the Saxons, some of the fugitives still maintained themselves in the forests, *and amid the rocks of the sea-coast*, where the fortresses of the Saxon shore might still afford them protection from their enemies. After a certain period had elapsed[1] (*tempore interveniente*), and after 'the cruel robbers had in part gone homewards' (*aliquanto cum domum recessissent*), these fugitives rallied under the guidance of Ambrosius, and gained the advantages which Gildas has commemorated.

Unfortunately there is but one entry in the Chronicle relating to this second war in Kent; and that records the terrible battle which must have extinguished all hope on the part of the Britons of expelling the invaders:

'A. 465. Now Hengest and Aesc fought with the Weals near Wippeds fleet, and there twelve Wealish aldermen they slew, and of them was there slain a thane whose name was Wipped.'

The locality of Wipped's fleet is unknown. Huntingdon tells us, that the loss in this battle was so great on both sides, that it was long before either party dared again to advance beyond their own borders. The loss of twelve Welsh princes shows us how large was the national force which the ascendency of Ambrosius enabled him to bring against the invaders, and at the same time how dreadful was the defeat which he sustained.

The account of Vortimer's victories, handed down to

[1] [Gildas, Hist. 25.] This may have been the period during which the civil war lasted between Vortigern and Ambrosius.

us by Nennius, was probably derived from genuine Welsh traditions, if it may not claim a more respectable origin. The British chief, we are told, drove the Saxons to Thanet, 'et eos ibi tribus vicibus conclusit, obsedit, percussit, terruit;' Nenn. c. xlvi. It is afterwards stated, that he fought against them in four battles, while in the succeeding chapter, which describes these battles, we have only three[1] accounted for. It seems probable, that the extract we have quoted contains the loose legendary account of these battles; that the Saxon Chronicle suggested the number *four*; and that some Welsh chronicle furnished the details contained in c. xlvii. According to this last authority, Vortimer fought, first, on the river Derguint; secondly, at Sathenegabhail, or the house of the ferryboat (*syddin y ceubail*), which place the Saxons called Episford; and thirdly, at the Stone of the Title, on the shore of the Gallic Sea. At Episford were slain the Saxon Horsa, and Vortimer's brother, Catigern; whence it appears that Nennius considered the battle of Episford to be the same as that of Aylesford. In this he must have been mistaken; for we know that at Aylesford the Britons were led by Vortigern. Nennius may have been anxious to reconcile Welsh history with the Saxon Chronicle, and have selected the battle of Aylesford as the one which, in its circumstances, the least contradicted his story of a Welsh victory.

It is probable that all Vortimer's battles were fought during the second war in Kent; for Gildas clearly intimates that the Britons gained their *first* advantages over the invaders under the guidance of Ambrosius. The circumstance of Vortigern's sons serving under their father's rival need not excite distrust. Huntingdon directly asserts the fact; and the character of Ambrosius, and his

[1] The edition of Nennius attributed to Mark the Hermit endeavours to make out the number four, by referring to the passage already quoted as giving an account of the first battle. Unfortunately that passage describes not one, but *three* battles.

recorded liberality to another of Vortigern's sons,[1] render it probable. The river Derguint was no doubt the Derwent in West Kent; the Stone of the Title is generally supposed to be Stonor near Richborough; and Episford may possibly be the ford leading into Thanet near Ebbsfleet.[2] If so, two of the three battles must have been fought within sight of Richborough; and, as Vortimer is said by Nennius to have died soon after his last battle, and to have ordered his body to be buried on the seashore, it is reasonable to conclude that Richborough and its dependent fortresses were not taken till after his death. The oldest copies of Nennius never speak of Vortimer as king, but always as a general. He seems to have acted as one of the lieutenants of Ambrosius, and simply to have discharged the duties of 'Comes Limitis Saxonici.'[3]

[1] Nennius [53, 54] gives us the genealogy of Farinmail, king of 'Buelt et Guortigernianum,' in Radnorshire; and traces him through ten descents from Pascent son of Vortigern, to whom Ambrosius gave the district, 'largiente Ambrosio, qui fuerat rex in omnes regiones Britanniae.'

[2] According to Bede, the Wantsum was fordable in two places; no doubt, in the places where the waters of the Stour formed *bars*, as they worked their way, northward or southward, into the Thames or the German Ocean. The northern ford must have been at Wade, and the southern one, in all probability, a little to the north of Ebbsfleet. Ebbs-fleet seems to be a corruption of Yppesfleet, which bears to Ypwines-fleot (the name that occurs in the Chronicle) the same relation that Wilson bears to Williamson, or Brighton to Brightelmstone, or Boston (Bots-ton) to Botolphston. The same chief probably gave his name both to the harbour and the ford.

As we know that ships of burden sometimes sailed through the Wantsum, this ford could only have been passable at ebb of tide. During flood, a ferry-boat must have been used for the conveyance of passengers; and hence the Welsh name *Sathenegabhail*. Such a name would be inapplicable to Aylesford; for the establishment of a ferry over the Medway at this point was unnecessary, and is altogether improbable.

[3] In the 'Oral Tradition and Chronology,' compiled soon after the year 1400, it is stated that from Vortimer to Arthur were fifty-three years; Iolo MSS. 416. Counting from Arthur's accession in 416, this interval would bring us to 463, or the year in which Ambrosius was made king; and we might perhaps infer that the Britons forbore to raise him to that dignity during the lifetime of Vortimer. It is just possible that the compiler of the 'Oral Traditions,' &c. had some trustworthy authority for fixing on a period of fifty-three years; but his other chronological notices exhibit the grossest ignorance; and we may, after all, be building in cloud-land.

The last battle fought by Hengest, which is recorded in the Chronicle, is the following:

'A. 473. Now Hengest and Aesc his son fought with the Weals, and took countless booty, and the Weals fled the Engle, as it were fire.'

The circumstances connected with this battle will not allow us long to hesitate about its locality. The 'countless booty' could not have been furnished by the Andred, nor by the barren heaths and morasses of Surrey; but at the south-eastern corner of our modern Kent lie some of the richest pastures in the island, and the sheep and cattle of the Romney marshes were no doubt the goodly prize, the capture of which is so exultingly commemorated in this entry of the Chronicle. One half of the Saxon shore must now have been in possession of the invaders; and the frontiers of Hengest's kingdom must, from this date, have coincided with those of the modern county.

The entry which records the first English settlement in Sussex is dated four years later.

'A. 477. Now came to Bryten-land Aelle and his three sons, Cymen, and Wlencing, and Cissa, with three ships in the place which is called Cymen's Ora, and there slew they many Weals, and some in flight drave they into the wood, which is called the Lea of Andred.'

Our historians of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries render Cymenes Ora by 'Cymeni portus.' But as we find many localities on the banks of rivers called *Oras*, the term must rather have signified a strand or shore; probably one on which ships or boats might be hauled up with safety. A charter,[1] which, though a forged one, is for our present purpose good evidence, connects Cymens Ora with Wittering, near Chichester; and there can be little doubt that it lay along the eastern side of Chichester harbour.[2] It has, indeed, been fixed at almost every part

[1] Cod. Dipl. 992.

[2] In Sidlesham parish, east of Wittering, is 'a manor-farm,' called Keynor, which reaches to the sea. Horsfield's *Sussex*, i. 41. I once thought Keynor a

of the Sussex coast; and the latest work which touches upon the subject, and which was published under the sanction of a learned society, actually lands Aelle at Anderida! As the charter we have quoted is referred to by Camden, there is no excuse for these blunders.

According to Huntingdon, the peasantry of the neighbourhood rushed on the enemy in scattered and disorderly bodies, and appear to have been slaughtered by the invaders with little loss on their part. The surprise was followed by a panic, in the midst of which Regnum must have been taken. As this city derives its modern name, not from Aelle, but from his son and successor, Cissa (Cissa-ceaster, the chester or city of Cissa), perhaps we may infer that Regnum was given to the flames, and that during the lifetime of Aelle the South-Sexe intrenched themselves in the neighbouring earthwork. When a footing was secured on the coast, hundreds of adventurers would soon flock from Kent and elsewhere; and it must have been with their aid that, in 485, Aelle fought the battle of Mercreds-burn. On this occasion he may have met Ambrosius and a national army; for Huntingdon tells us that the '*reges et tyranni Brittonum*' were his opponents. Both the locality and the issue of this battle are unknown; but five years afterwards, Aelle took Anderida, the locality of which is fixed very satisfactorily by researches made on the spot, as well as by historical probability, at Pevensey.

'A. 491. Now Aelle and Cissa beset Andreds-ceaster, and slew all that dwelt therein, nor was there thenceforth one Brit left.'

This is the entry, whose simple brevity appeared to Gibbon more 'dreadful' than all the lamentations of Gildas. It records the fall of the last Roman fortress of the Saxon shore. From this date the South-Sexe must have occupied

corruption of Cymen-ora; but I now think it represents *Iccan ora*, a locality which is also mentioned in the charter. According to the description of the boundaries, Cymens Ora must have lain along the western side of the Selsey peninsula.

the whole line of coast from Chichester eastward to the marshes of Kent.

Five years after the fall of Anderida, the West-Sexe effected their first settlement.

'A. 495. Now came two aldermen into Britain, Cerdic, and Cynric his son, with five ships, at the place which is called Cerdics-Ora, and the same day they fought with the Weals.'

Cerdics Ora is placed by Camden in Norfolk, by Carte in Dorset, and by the editors of *Modern Wiltshire* in West Hants. I think critical reasons may be given to show that it lay along the eastern side of the Southampton Water; and that the point where Cerdic landed must have been north of the Hamble, and probably at the mouth of the Itchin river. These reasons will be discussed when we treat of the settlement made by the Jutish leaders, Stuf and Wihtgar.

According to Huntingdon, Cerdic formed his men into a compact body near his ships, and till nightfall had to withstand the repeated assaults of the Britons. He repelled the assailants, but did not venture to pursue them. The obstinacy of the conflict is implied in the words of Ethelwerd, '*ipsi post in fine fuere victores*': its frequent renewal may have been owing to the arrival of fresh succours from the Venta Belgarum.

This city, the future capital of Wessex, if we may trust the calculations of the monks of Winchester, was taken the same year in which Cerdic landed; for Rudborne tells us in his *Hist. Minor.*[1] that when, in 635, Birinus introduced the Christian rites into one of its ancient churches, that church had for 142 years been 'the Temple of Dagon.' Counting, indeed, from 495 to 635, we only get 141 years, even including the year we start from; but in calculations of this kind, the difference of a year need not disturb us.

In the year 501 Port landed at Portsmouth, and slew a young Briton, who is described as of high nobility—

[1] Galba A. 15; cited Brit. Eccl. Ant.

swithe ethelne. Whoever he may have been,[1] his loss was of small importance, compared with the fate of one who seems to have upheld the cause of civilization in the west of Europe with more success, and for a longer period, than any other individual that appeared after the death of Aetius.

'A. 508. Now Cerdic and Cynric slew a British king, whose name was Natanleod, and 5000 men with him. Then after that was the land named Natan leaga as far as Cerdic's ford.'[2]

No entry in the Chronicle has given rise to more discussion than the present one; but I am not aware that the discussion has led to any explanation of its difficulties. It always appeared to me that Natanleod was a title, and not, as it is usually considered, a proper name. *Leod*, though not found in our Anglo-Saxon dictionaries, occurs in Anglo-Saxon poems, with the sense of 'prince'; and if we suppose there was some place called Nat-e (gen. Nat-an), then *Natan-leod* would signify the prince of *Nat-e*, and *Natan leaga* the Leas of Nat-e. I believe such a locality did exist near our modern Amesbury, and that the Leas of Nat-e were the woodlands which stretched from the Avon to the Test and Itchin.

Amesbury, as we have already observed, signified the burgh of Ambres, or Ambrosius. According to the Welsh triads, it was once the site of a great monastery.

'The three chief perpetual choirs of the Isle of Britain: the choir of Llan Iltud Vawr, in Glamorganshire; the choir of Ambrosius, in Ambresbury; and the choir of Glastonbury. In each of these three choirs there were 2400 saints;

[1] It has been suggested that he was Geraint ap Erbin, whose fall at the battle of Llongborth (*i.e.* ship-port) is lamented by Llywarch Hen. Geraint is also commemorated in the Triads as a commander of one of the Welsh fleets. But Llywarch Hen represents Geraint as one of Arthur's officers, and Arthur was not elected 'Ammherawdyr' till 516. The poet, moreover, did not flourish so early as the year 501.

[2] Does not the expression, 'as far as Cerdic's ford,' prove that the entry in which it occurs was originally written in some Winchester chronicle?

that is, there were 100 for every hour of the day and night in rotation, perpetuating the praise of God without rest or intermission.' Probert, *Triad*, 84.

I have vainly endeavoured to trace the MS. used by Probert; but I can see no reason to doubt the general correctness of his translation. This particular triad is found in only one of the collections, which were published in the *Myv. Archaeologia*; and there it varies considerably in form from the copy which furnished our quotation. The three choirs are stated to have been located in the Isle of Avallon, Caer Caradoc, and Bangor. The Isle of Avallon is the well-known site of Glastonbury; and Caer Caradoc, though confounded with Salisbury (Old Sarum) by Geoffrey of Monmouth, is placed near Amesbury by Owen Pughe, and also by Caradoc of Llancarvan, Geoffrey's contemporary (Iolo MSS. 45); but the selection of Bangor, in place of Llan Iltud Vawr, shows us that the present was the North-Welsh, as Probert's copy was doubtless the South-Welsh, edition of the Triad.

In the older Welsh poems we sometimes find allusions to a conflict which appears to have taken place in or about some *nawt*,[1] or sanctuary. It has been keenly contended that these allusions refer to the massacre of the British nobles by Hengest, and that the *nawt* was the heathen sanctuary of Stonehenge. One of the poems which are supposed to allude to this subject is attributed to Cuhelyn the Bald, who according to Owen Pughe flourished in the sixth, and according to the compilers of the *Archaeology* in the eighth century. It represents Eiteol 'excelling in wisdom,' as the chief of this mysterious locality; and the structure itself is described as

. . . . mur Ior
Maus Pedir pedror
    Mawr cor cyvoeth.

. . . . the Wall of the Eternal,
The quadrangular delight of Peter,
    The great Choir of the dominion.

[1] In modern Welsh, *nawdd*.

These expressions agree but ill with the hypothesis above referred to; and, though there may be danger in committing oneself upon a subject of so much obscurity, I would venture to suggest that this celebrated *nawt* may have been the Christian monastery instead of the heathen temple, and that the legend which makes Stonehenge the work of Ambrosius (Gwaith Emrys) may have arisen from his having built or re-edified one of the 'Choirs of Britain' in its immediate neighbourhood. An attempt on the part of the invaders to surprise this monastery — probably during one of its great festivals—may have given rise to the charge of a treacherous massacre; and Hengest would naturally figure in the tale, as being the Saxon chief best known to Welsh fable. The story seems to have been a favourite fiction in the sixth and seventh centuries, for it is also told of the Saxons who invaded Thuringia.

Assuming that the monastery at Amesbury was called by the Welsh the *nawt*, it would, according to all analogy, be known to the Saxons as the *Nat-e*,[1] and Natan Leod would signify the Prince of the Nat-e or Sanctuary. This title might well be a subject of pride, even to a man as exalted as Ambrosius. We must not infer, because *three* choirs are mentioned, that they were all in existence at the same time. There is reason to believe that the choir of Glastonbury arose after that of Amesbury was destroyed. The choir of Ambrosius was probably *the* monastery of Britain—the centre from which flowed the blessings of Christianity and civilisation. Around Amesbury the Briton was fighting for all that was dearest to him; and thus may we account for the desperate resistance which enabled him to maintain a weak frontier for nearly sixty years within little more than twenty miles of Winchester.

An argument may be raised against the identity of Ambrosius and Natan-Leod, on the ground that none of

[1] Between Amesbury and Old Sarum there is a hamlet called *Netton.* This word seems to be a corruption of the Anglo-Saxon *Nate-tun*, 'the town or homestead of the Nat-e.' It may have been the Grange of the monastery.

our historians represent the former as dying in battle. Geoffrey, with the view, it would seem, of interpolating the fabulous Uther, poisons Ambrosius by the hands of a Saxon physician; and his authority is, of course, followed by later English writers. Foreigners, however, have left us accounts which approach more nearly to the truth. The Italian Blondus, in the fifteenth century, represents Ambrosius as having led the Britons many times against the Saxons, and as having been at last defeated and slain (Dec. 1, lib. ii.). Polydore Vergil also assigns him a soldier's death, and Stonehenge for a monument (*Hist. Ang.* l. iii.); whence we may infer that, in the opinion of this writer, he fell somewhere in its neighbourhood. The Flemish chronicler Sigebert tells us, the Britons made Ambrosius Aurelianus king, and under his guidance fought with various success against their enemies for the space of forty-five years.[1] If we suppose him to have died in 508, this would fix his accession in the year 463, and the coincidence of dates seems almost to demonstrate the identity of Natanleod and Ambrosius.

It should be observed, that after Geoffrey's work appeared, our historians were greatly puzzled what to make of Natanleod, and generally converted him into one of Uther's lieutenants! Before Geoffrey's time there was no difficulty about the matter. The Chronicle styles him 'A British king;' Ethelwerd, 'king of the Britons;' and Huntingdon, 'chief king of Britain.' The last author tells us that Cerdic was obliged to seek aid from Sussex, Kent, and Portsmouth before he could meet his formidable antagonist. Who could that antagonist be but Ambrosius?

The next entry in the Chronicle recalls our attention to the locality of Cerdic's Ora:

'A. 514. Now came the West Seaxe,[2] into Britain with

[1] This passage does not appear in the early printed editions of Sigebert's Chronicle; but it was found in the MS. used by Ussher, and forms part of the text published by Pertz in his *Monumenta Hist. Germ.*

[2] The original may signify, either that a body of West-Sexe, or the West-

three ships, at the place which is called Cerdic's Ora; and Stuf and Wihtgar fought with the Brits and put them to flight.'

The Jutish leaders Stuf and Wihtgar are elsewhere represented as nephews of Cerdic. From the Jutes, according to the testimony of Bede, came the men of Kent, the men of Wight, and 'the kin' in Wessex (as the Saxon chronicler renders it), 'which they still call the Juten-kin.' Bede elsewhere tells us that the Hamble-water flowed through the country of the Jutes (*Hist. Eccl.* 4. 16); and at no great distance from this river we find the villages of Meon-stoke and East Meon. Here, no doubt, lived the Meon-wari, whom Bede couples with the men of Wight (*Hist. Eccl.* iv. 13), and who were certainly[1] the Jutish kin above referred to. The Hamble-creek is the natural inlet of the country; and here, in all probability, Stuf and Wihtgar landed. It is, however, a very singular circumstance that, nineteen years after the arrival of Cerdic, the new comers should have found the Britons still occupying the country, and ready to resist invasion. It shows us how slow was the progress of the Sex-e in driving out the Britons when the latter had fastnesses to shelter themselves in, whether natural or artificial.

The success of Stuf and Wihtgar must have greatly strengthened Cerdic's position at Winchester; but it was not till after the battle at Charford that he ventured to take upon himself the title of king.

'A. 519. Now Cerdic and Cynric undertook the government of the West-Sexe; and the same year they fought

Sexe generally, arrived in 514. The entry may possibly have been the commencement of some Jutish chronicle, and been carelessly altered when adopted into our present compilations. It certainly misled Ethelwerd in the tenth century; for he tells us Birinus preached the Gospel to the men of Wessex in the year 635, some 120 years after their arrival in Britain. He must have counted from the arrival of Stuf and Wihtgar.

[1] Misled, as it would seem, by a mistake in Florence of Worcester, and by a loose statement in Bede, some of our antiquaries have fixed these Jutes *west* of the Southampton Water.

with the Brits at the place which is now called Cerdic's-ford,[1] and sithen from that day have reigned the kingly family of the West-Sexe.'

This battle was followed the next year by another, which was still more important in its consequences. Its results may be best detailed in the language of Gildas. 'From this time [*i. e.* from the first successes of Ambrosius], one while our citizens, at another time their enemies, were victorious, &c., down to the year of the siege of Mount Badon (which lies near the mouth of the Severn), and of that slaughter which is almost the last, and certainly not the least of those which have been made of the villains (*de furciferis*); from which year, as I reckon, the four and fortieth is now commencing, the first month being now past, and which year was also that of my nativity. But not even at the present time are our towns inhabited as heretofore they were; but waste and ruinous they lie even to this day, inasmuch as, though foreign wars ceased, civil wars did not. For the recollection of so dreadful a ruin of our island, and of such unhoped-for succour, dwelt long on the minds of those who were witnesses of these marvellous changes, wherefore kings, and public and private men, priests and ecclesiastics, observed the duties of their station; but when these were gone, and another generation succeeded, who had not experienced that tempest of ruin, and were only acquainted with times of tranquillity and justice, then all the restraints of truth and justice were loosened, &c.'

It is clear from this passage, that Gildas looked upon the battle of Mount Badon as separating a long period of war and rapine from one of comparative peace and tranquillity. He does not mention the name of the Welsh general; but both Nennius and the *Annales Cambriae* give the honour of this victory to Arthur. Several of our English

[1] Ethelwerd tells us that Cerdics-ford was on the Avon; so that its identity with Chardford or Charford admits of no doubt.

writers, and amongst others, Rudborne in his *Hist. Major*,[1] allude to the treaty entered into between Arthur and Cerdic. Higden's notice of it is perhaps the most explicit, and is thus rendered by his translator:

'Men rede in somme cronykes that Cerdicus fought oft with Arthur, and yf he were ouercome, he aroose up eft strenger to fyghte, and atte laste after six and twenty yere of Cerdicus comynge Arthur was wery, and noyeful to hym, and gave hym hampshyre and somersete, and called that countrye Wessex. And he made fayth and swore to hym,' &c. *Polychr.* c. 6.

Counting six and twenty years from the date of Cerdic's landing, and including the first year, we arrive at the year 520; and at this date Roger of Wendover fixes the battle of Mount Badon. Geoffrey of Monmouth gives the date of Arthur's death—it is almost the only date he does give—as 542; and the *Welsh Chronicle*, in the Red Book of Hergest, makes an interval of twenty-two years between his death and the battle of Mount Badon, which again brings us to the year 520. I think, therefore, we have grounds for believing that this celebrated battle did really take place the year[2] following that in which Cerdic became king.

The passage in Gildas which describes Mount Badon as lying near the mouth of the Severn, seems to fix it with certainty at Bath, or in its neighbourhood. But there are reasons which tend to show that the passage is an interpolation. First, it has all the appearance of an interpolation; secondly, it is absent from one of the only two MSS. we now possess, and was not admitted into his text by Josselin, who had manuscript authorities no longer extant; thirdly, we can account for the interpolation, inasmuch as we know that, in the thirteenth century, the Welsh confounded[3] the

[1] Anglia Sacra, i. 187.

[2] The editors of the *Mon. Hist. Britt.* append the date 516 to the entry in the *Annales Cambriae* which records this battle. I have already expressed my opinion as to the value which should be put on these chronological inferences: above, pp. 168, 169.

[3] Sharon Turner and some of our other historians have been strangely puzzled

battle of Mount Badon with the capture of Bath sixty years later; fourthly, the name of Mount Badon is inapplicable to a place situated as Bath is; and fifthly, the version of the story which Camden took from Geoffrey, and according to which Arthur drove the Saxons from the walls of Bath, and then defeated them on Bannesdown Hill, will not explain the difficulty that meets us; for, according to Gildas, there was an actual *siege*[1] of Mount Badon, and not merely a battle fought in its neighbourhood. It is highly improbable that the West-Sexe, though they might possibly 'harry' the country as far as the neighbourhood of Bath, should lay siege to a fortress so far from their own frontier, and in the rear of such fortresses as Old Sarum, Barbury Hill, and Cirencester. They were foot-soldiers, and not, like the Danes, horsemen who could rapidly transport themselves from one side of the kingdom to the other. At the date of this battle they had been settled in Hants and Berkshire for about twenty-five years; and for more than seventy years after their arrival in Britain, all the battles which they have recorded were fought either within the limits of these two counties, or only a few miles beyond their borders.

It was no doubt by these and similar reasons that Carte was induced to propose Baydon Hill, on the great Roman Road from Silchester to Chichester, as the place of this battle. But first, there are no earthworks on Baydon Hill;

by the opening paragraph in the Welsh Chronicle contained in the Red Book of Hergest, according to which 128 years elapsed between the age of Vortigern and the battle of Mount Badon; a piece of chronology that deranges all the dates of our early history. The explanation is a simple one. The Welsh compiler looked into the Saxon Chronicle; and from the year 449, when Vortigern is first mentioned, to the year 577, when the capture of Bath is recorded, he counted 128 years. The capture of Bath he confounded with the battle of Mount Badon, and hence the blunder.

[1] Camden's allusion to the earthwork on Bannesdown is hardly consistent with his usual good sense and honesty. The existence of this earthwork could have no relevancy to the battle which, on his hypothesis, was fought there; but might easily lead the careless reader to draw very false inferences with respect to the '*obsessio* Montis Badonici.'

and, secondly, Baydon seems to be a genuine English word. The Mons Badonicus was doubtless so called from the baths (*badon*, Welsh) in its neighbourhood. Now, although remains of Roman baths are occasionally met with on the Gloucestershire and Wiltshire downs, I am not aware that any have been discovered at Baydon; and when we find, in the neighbourhood of this village, localities called Bay-field and Bay-cliff, we cannot have much doubt that Bay-don also was an English compound, and not a corruption of the Welsh word *badon*. Why may not the Mons Badonicus be the Badbury of Dorsetshire? Its elevated site, its great strength and evident importance, and its name,[1] all alike favour the hypothesis. It exhibits ample proof of Roman occupancy; though, I believe, no Roman baths have yet been discovered in the neighbourhood. It lay also on the borders of the West-Saxon territory, and in the very district where the Welsh and English were at that time contending, and where, only the year before, Cerdic had fought the battle of Charford.

The notion which seems to have been entertained by Rudborne, Higden, and others, their contemporaries, that, by the terms of this treaty, the whole of Wessex was ceded to our ancestors, is certainly unfounded: we know that the greater portion of it did not fall into their hands till many years afterwards. In the accompanying map I have endeavoured to trace out what may have been the boundary-line which separated the two races. The principles I have taken for my guidance are sufficiently obvious. I have assumed that the size and figure of our counties, at least in the south of England, were, to a considerable degree, influenced

[1] The Anglo-Saxon *bæth*, a bath, was a neuter substantive; but the name for Bath appears to have been a feminine substantive, *Bath-e*, gen. *Bath-an*; whence Bathan ceaster, the city of Bath-e. In Hampshire and its neighbourhood, the final and medial *th* was often pronounced *d*; hence, if there were Roman baths near Badbury, the locality would probably be called *Badd-e*. In the Chronicle, Badbury is termed Baddan byrig, the bury or fortress of Badd-e; and the modern name Badbury must be a corruption of the compound Badde byrig. The Welsh name was probably Dinas Badon.

by the events of our early history; and that the grims and grimsdikes, so plentifully scattered over them, were real boundary-lines. It will be seen that there are certain places near the boundary which are distinguished as English; and it may be observed that, as contra-distinguished from the Welsh, the West-Sexe called themselves by this name even as early as the times of the Heptarchy. Vide the *Laws of Ina.*

Starting from the sea, the boundary followed pretty closely that of Western Hampshire, till it reached the neighbourhood of Old Sarum. It then seems to have passed along the ditch which gives its name to the Hundred of Underditch; and to the north of Ditchampton is distinguished in an Anglo-Saxon charter of the eleventh century,[1] by the name of *Grimes dic.* Traces of this *Grimes dic* are again found in the neighbourhood of Steeple Langford;[2] and a little to the west of Langford is a village called Fisherton de la *Mere.* Here the boundary seems to have turned again to the northward; but its course towards Amesbury is purely conjectural. From Amesbury it seems to have run along the Beacon Hill towards Chute forest, and thence to the river Thames, in a direction which, with one slight exception, is nearly coincident with the western limits of Hants and Berkshire.

That Amesbury was left in possession of the Britons, there can be little doubt. The name by which it is generally mentioned in the Triads is Caer-Caradoc. Now Caradoc was the name of the Welsh prince who is commemorated as Arthur's 'battle-knight,' and as 'the pillar of the Cymry,' and who appears to have been, as we shall hereafter see, the most powerful chief in South Britain at this juncture. It is not likely that a fortress of the first class, the residence of Caradoc Vreichvras, would be taken as long as that hero lived; and as we have reason to believe he survived Arthur, he must have lived some twenty or thirty years after the date of this treaty.

[1] Cod. Dipl. 778. [2] Ib. 446.

North of the Thames, we know that Eynsham and Bensington were Welsh fortresses full fifty years after the battle of Mount Badon; but that the Sexe had penetrated into the valleys of the Cherwell-basin is probable, because this basin lies open and contiguous to the vale of White-Horse, and was the favourite line on which the Saxon kings operated against the Britons;[1] and also because we find one of the Grimsdikes stretching across it from the Glym to the Evenlode. From this Grimsdike the boundary may have passed along the Akemans street, and the Aves-ditch,[2] to Whittlebury forest, and thence along Cerdic's-lea to Dorchester. It may then have crossed the river, so as to cover *Wallinga ford*[3] (that is, the ford of the Wallings, or, as we may perhaps render it, of the Weals, or Welsh-men), and then run along the Grimsdike and the Chiltern, till it again reached the Thames east of Streatley. South of the river, it must have followed the Grimsdike to Pur-borough Castle; have swept round to Spinae by Grims-bury; and then by the Welshmen's bridge (Weala brucg),[4] and the Mare ridges (*i.e.* the ridges of the Meer or March), to Englefield. Passing the Kennet at Theale,[5] it then seems to have run along the Grimsdike[6] to Silchester, and thence

[1] Vide Sax. Chron. A.D. 527, 571. Arthur's battles against the Saxons at the mouth of the river Glem and in the wood of Caledon (Nennius, c. 64) were also, very probably, fought in this neighbourhood.

[2] Whether the boundary-line continued its course along the Akeman Street, or passed to the north of it, depends on the question whether Alchester had fallen into the hands of the Saxons. It could never have been a place of strength; and the existence of Bicester in its neighbourhood goes far to prove that it was destroyed in these early wars. Its capture would hardly have been followed by its *ruin* at any later period.

[3] Immediately to the south of the boundary-line at this point was a locality called *Grimley*, and near it an earthwork called 'the old dike,' which ran to the Thames at Wallingford. Cod. Dipl. 1069.

[4] Cod. Dipl. 1152.

[5] In the old Hampshire dialect *th* was often substituted for the initial *d*, as *thar, there, than, thoth*, &c., for *dare, dear, den, doth*, &c. *Theale* seems to be the provincial pronunciation of *dole*, a boundary.

[6] Dr. Beke informs us (*Arch.* xv. p. 179) that the peasantry call this dike 'Grimmer's dike.' I do not examine his etymology, as I am satisfied that *Grimmers dike* is nothing more than the old pronunciation of *Grim-es dic*.

along the skirts of the forest to within a mile or two of Chertsey, in the neighbourhood of which town we find all the marks of a frontier station. On the English side of the supposed boundary-line is a place still called Englefield, and on the Welsh side we find recorded in our charters[1] the Welshman's road (Weala geat), the Welshmen's hythe or port (Weales huth), and a place called the Shire-pool. I do not pretend to follow the boundary with any accuracy further. It probably passed south to Guildford,[2] and then returned by way of Holwood Hill to London.

I have not been able to check these speculations by any personal examination of the country; and, no doubt in many points they require correction. Still, however, I feel a strong persuasion that in their main features they do not deviate widely from the truth. But, even were this the case, I would maintain that, on a subject of such bewildering confusion as that of our ancient dikes and earthworks, any reasonable hypothesis that enables us to group together a certain number of these boundary-lines, can hardly fail to be of service.

The following events recorded in the Chronicle appear to have occurred during the forty-four years which elapsed after the battle of Mount Badon, and which Gildas represents as a period of comparative peace and tranquillity.

'A. 527. Now Cerdic and Cynric fought with the Brits at the place that is called Cerdics Lea.

'A. 530. Now Cerdic and Cynric took the Island Wight; and a few men they slew in Wihtgara-burh.

'A. 534. Now Cerdic, the first king of the West-Seaxe, died; and Cynric, his son, took to the kingdom, and reigned thenceforth twenty-six winters. And they gave to their

Stukeley gives this earthwork the name of *Grimsdike*. He mistook it for a Roman road; and his account of it has misled both Gough and Warton.

[1] Cod. Dipl. 987.

[2] If Vindomis was situated in the neighbourhood of Farnham, the frontier very probably reached to it, and all Surrey south of 'the Hog's-back' may have been Welsh territory.

two nephews, Stuf and Wihtgar, the whole of the Isle of Wight.

'A. 552. Now Cynric fought with the Bryts at the place that is called Searo-byrig; and the Bryt-weals he put to flight.

'A. 556. Now Cynric and Ceawlin fought with the Bryts at Beran-byrig.

'A. 560. Now Ceawlin took to the kingdom among the West-Sexe.'

The battle at Cerdics Lea may have arisen from some misunderstanding about the boundaries; and there is little doubt that the Isle of Wight was one of those wasted districts which were yielded up to Cerdic after the battle of Mount Badon. Some copies of the Chronicle make Cerdic slay *many* men in Wihtgara-burh (*feala* instead of *fea*); but the present reading is supported by Asser, Ethelwerd, and Florence; and the first of these writers tells us, by way of explanation, that 'the other inhabitants of the island had been slain, or driven into exile.' It is probable that Wihtgara-burh was not the only fortress within the boundaries of Cerdic's kingdom, which, for a while, sheltered its inhabitants from the sword of their enemies.

The battles at Old Sarum in 552, and at Barbury Hill in 556, clearly indicate an aggressive warfare on the part of our ancestors. These battles were probably not followed by any of those dreadful inroads which, at an earlier period, carried fire and sword through the island; and Gildas may have looked upon them as hardly a greater evil than the civil wars which were then desolating his country.

I have spoken of Arthur as a historical personage; for I see nothing to justify the doubts that have sometimes been expressed on this subject. His pretensions to the character rest on a very different footing from those of Uther. Uther's name was never mentioned before the publication of Geoffrey's history; while Arthur's battles are recorded by Nennius, and his name occurs in Welsh

poems of the sixth century whose genuineness no scholar has ever doubted, in the *Annales Cambriae*, and in the lives of several of the Welsh saints. His relationship, however, to Ambrosius is evidently a fiction, and one which we probably owe to the mendacious history we have just referred to. He seems to have been the nephew of a petty king in the west of Britain, and to have been elected to the supreme command solely on account of his soldierly qualities. The account of his battles in Nennius contains one obvious error. According to all the Welsh chronicles, more than twenty years elapsed between the battle of Mount Badon and his death; yet although, during that period, different tribes of invaders were effecting settlements in the east and north of Britain, this battle, we are told, was the last he fought against the Saxons. It was probably the last he fought against the Saxons of Wessex; and as the war with Wessex was that which most interested the South Briton who wrote the paragraph, we need not seek for any other explanation of the blunder.

The accession of Arthur is placed by Wendover in 516, eight years after the death of Ambrosius. There is some reason to believe that the immediate successor of Ambrosius was his son Owen; at least the thirty-fourth triad in Probert's collection makes this Owen one of 'the three conventional monarchs of Britain'; that is, one of the monarchs who were chosen by a general convention of the country. It is true that in this, as in other cases, where mention is made of 'Owen son of Ambrosius,' we find, in the greater number of MSS., 'Owen son of Maximus'; but, as the relationship indicated by the phrase 'Owen son of Ambrosius,' is in direct antagonism to Geoffrey's history, we can readily account for the change to 'Owen son of Maximus.' The assertion that a son of the usurper Maximus was elected king of Britain is in direct contradiction to Roman history; while the election of a son of Ambrosius is a possible, and perhaps we might add a probable, event. Arthur may have been elected the '*dux belli*' on the death

of Owen without children, or with children too young to meet the exigencies of the times.

One of the triads commemorates 'the three tribes of the throne,' as they existed in the time of Arthur. These 'tribes of the throne' clearly represent the three favourite divisions, Lloegyr, Alban, and Cymru; that is, South, North, and West Britain. All the MSS. represent Cellewig in Cornwall as Arthur's chief seat in Lloegyr, and Caradoc Vreichvras (that is, Caradoc with the brawny arm) as his 'chief elder,' or as the prince pre-eminent in that district. This Caradoc was no doubt the prince who gave the name of Caer Caradoc to the stronghold which adjoins to Amesbury. He appears to have lost his life at the terrible battle of Cattraeth, which (according to the generally received opinion) was fought against the invading Engle in North Britain; and his son Cawrdav is commemorated in the following triad.[1]

'The three supreme servants of the isle of Britain; Caradog the son of Bran, the son of Llyr Llediaith; Cawrdav, the son of Caradog of the brawny arm; and Owain, son of Ambrosius. They were so called because all the men of the island of Britain, from the prince to the peasant, became their followers, at the need of the country, on account of the invasion and tyranny of the foe,' &c. Probert, Triad 42.

Perhaps we may infer from this tradition, that as the terror produced by the battle of Netley, and the death of Ambrosius, led the Britons to rally round the son of their fallen monarch, so the slaughter at Cattraeth induced them to elect as their chief the son of the hero who, on that occasion, so much distinguished himself. From Caradoc's connexion with Amesbury, and the position he seems to have held in the estimation of his countrymen, we may perhaps be justified in drawing the further inference, that he was a descendant of Ambrosius.[2]

[1] [But see below, p. 265.]

[2] The 'Genealogies of the Saints' generally make him a member of one or

Of the five British princes whom Gildas inveighs against in his Epistle, the first two whom he selects for censure are Constantine, king of Devonshire (Damnonia), and Aurelius Conan. He accuses the first of having 'that same year' slain 'two royal youths' in their mother's arms, and beneath the very 'amphibalum' of the abbot; and bids Aurelius, whom he describes as even worse than Constantine, to remember the untimely end of his fathers and his brothers (*patrum fratrumque*), and that he is now left a solitary and a withered stock. When we consider the names borne by these princes, and the district one of them was reigning over, we can hardly avoid the suspicion, that they were the descendants of Ambrosius, whom Gildas describes in his history as 'having greatly degenerated from the worth of their ancestors.' In some Welsh MSS. four sons are assigned to the usurper Maximus; Owain Finddu, Ednyfed, Peblic, and Cystennyn (Constantine).[1] As we have reasons for believing that the later Welsh copyists often changed 'Owen son of Ambrosius,' into 'Owen son of Maximus,' with the view of accommodating Welsh history to Geoffrey's narrative; so we may conjecture, that with the same view they would transfer to Maximus the whole family of the British king, and consequently that Ednyfed, Peblic, and Cystennyn, were sons of Ambrosius. On this supposition, the Constantine whom Gildas inveighs against may have been the youngest son of this monarch. Geoffrey makes him the uncle of Aurelius Conan, but it would be more consistent with the facts of our early history, if we were to consider him as the great uncle.

other of the 'three holy families'; but as they convert a sturdy warrior into a saint, it is but fitting they should provide him with a suitable pedigree.

[1] Iolo MSS. p. 113. The prominence which is given to Maximus (Maxsen Wledig) in the Welsh Triads, and which appears to have thrown the name of Ambrosius into the shade, may have been due originally to the great prevalence of *Breton* legends during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. These legends seem to have been introduced into Wales on the return of Rhys ab Tewdwr, A.D. 1077; and were no doubt one of the sources from which Geoffrey of Monmouth drew the materials of his History. They may very probably have suggested his story of a Breton original.

Possibly he may have borne the same relationship to Cawrdav, and to the 'two royal youths,' his victims. Rowlands [Mona Antiqua, 180] represents him as the ancestor of the British princes who reigned in Cornwall; but the only authority for such a statement which has fallen under the author's notice, are certain suspicious genealogies in the *Achau Saint Ynys Prydain.*

The following scheme exhibits the ties of relationship which seem to have connected the different members of the family of Ambrosius; and, hypothetical though it be, yet any clue which may assist us in unravelling the intricacies of early British history, has claims upon our attention.

Constantine, emp.; slain 411.

Constans, emp.; slain 411. — Julian; slain 411.

Ambrosius Aurelianus (Emrys Wledig), king of Britain; slain 508.

Owen (Owain Finddu), king of Britain. — Ednyfed — Peblic — Constantine (Cystennyn Goronog), king of Dannonia.

Caradoc Vreichvras. — The British princes who reigned in Cornwall.

Cawrdav, king of Britain. — Aurelius Conan. — The murdered princes.

The mode in which Geoffrey manufactured his history of this period is sufficiently obvious. He took four of the five princes whose names occur in the Epistle, and made them kings of Britain in the order in which Gildas mentions them — Constantine, Aurelius Conan, Vortiper, and Maelgwn. Unfortunately for Geoffrey, the *Annales Cambriae* record Maelgwn's death of the yellow plague ten years after the death of Arthur, while they represent Constantine as living nearly to the close of the century. Such is the history, whose authority modern criticism has attempted to revive, at the same time that it attacks the credit due to Gildas and Bede!

The British leader at Barbury Hill was most probably Aurelius Conan. Fifteen years after his defeat, the West-Sexe turned their arms eastward.

'A. 571. Now Cuthwulf fought with the Bryt-weals at Bedican-ford; and four towns he took, Lygean-burh, and Aegeles-burh, and Bensingtun, and Aegones-ham. And the same year he died.'

The march upon Bedford cut through the line of communication which united Verulam and London with the rest of Britain, and must have made the battle which followed it inevitable. On their return, the West-Sexe swept the valleys of the Ouse and Thame, or the districts dependent on the burghs of Lenborough[1] and Aylesbury,[2] by the union of which with the woodlands of the Chiltern the modern county of Bucks has been formed; and then stormed the fortresses, which had hitherto maintained their independence in the valley of the Thames. The districts appertaining to Bensington and Eynsham, when added to the country already occupied by the Saxons north of the river, nearly completed our modern Oxfordshire.

Only six years later, the West-Sexe pushed their conquests to the Sèvern.

'A. 577. Now Cuthwine and Ceawlin fought with the Bryts, and three kings they slew, Commail, Condidan, and Farinmail, at the place which is called Deorham, and took from them three chesters, Gleawan-ceaster, and Cyren-ceaster, and Bathan-ceaster.'

The battle of Deorham seems to have been the decisive battle which sealed the fate of south Britain. The loss of Gloucester, Cirencester, and Bath, separated for ever the Britons of Wales from those of Cornwall. Neither the 'West Weals' of Damnonia, nor the Weals beyond the Severn, could hope successfully to resist an enemy against whom their united power had been exerted in vain. The progress of the West-Sexe might be checked by their

[1] Lenborough is now a hamlet adjoining to Buckingham.

[2] The old ditch which runs along the edge of the Chiltern from Berkhampstead to Princes Risborough seems to have been adopted by the West-Sexe as the western boundary of their new conquests. It still bears the name of 'Grimsdike.'

intestine feuds, but no sooner were they at peace among themselves, than their frontier was advanced at the expense of their neighbours. We cannot, however, follow their later conquests. The present paper is already much too long, and has been extended far beyond the limits originally contemplated by the writer.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

A.D.

446. Aetius consul for the third time.
447. Vortigern king.
450. Marcian emperor. Arrival of the Saxons.
455. *Battle of Aylesford.*
457. *Battle of Crayford.*
459. 'Discordia Guitolini et Ambrosii.'
463. Ambrosius king.
465. *Battle of Wippeds-fleet.*
473. *Battle, and much booty taken.*
477. *Aelle lands at Cymens Ora.*
485. *Battle at Mercreds-burn.*
490. *Anderida taken.*
495. *Cerdic lands at Cerdics Orà.*
501. *Port lands at Portsmouth.*
508. *Natan-leod* (i.e. *Ambrosius*) *slain.*
514. *Stuf and Wihtgar land at Cerdics Ora.*
519. *Battle of Charford.*
520. Battle of the Mons Badonicus. Treaty between Cerdic and Arthur.
527. *Battle of Cerdics Lea.*
530. *Wihtgara-burh in the Isle of Wight taken.*
534. *Cerdic dies.*
542. Arthur dies.
552. *Battle at Old Sarum.*
556. *Battle at Barbury-Hill.*
571. *Battle at Bedford.*
577. *Battle at Deorham.*

THE 'BELGIC DITCHES,' AND THE PROBABLE DATE OF STONEHENGE:

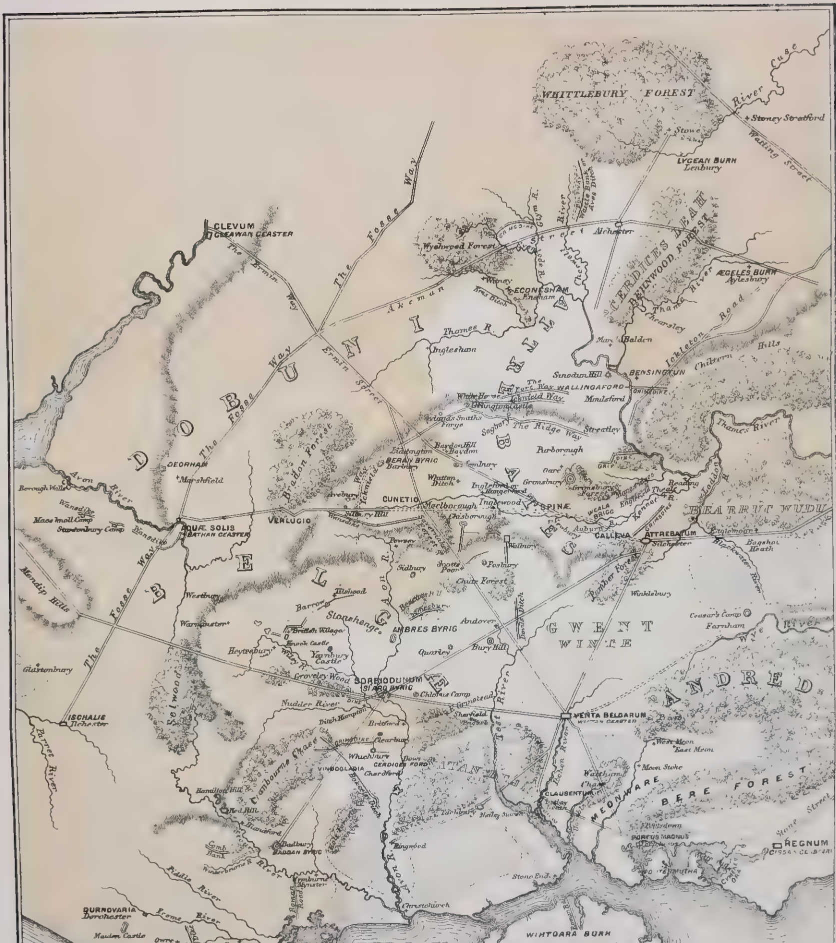
BEING THE SUBSTANCE OF A COMMUNICATION MADE TO THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE AT THEIR MEETING AT OXFORD, 1850.

[From No. 30 of the Archaeological Journal.]

THE lines of ancient earthwork, which in various parts of England intersect the country, seem to admit of a division into three classes,—British roads, Roman roads, and Boundary lines. When tolerably well preserved, these different kinds of earthwork may, in most cases, be distinguished from each other without much difficulty, and the British road appears as a ditch, with a low mound on each side of it, the Roman road as a mound simply, and the Boundary-line as a ditch, with a mound on one side only. As we have no reason to believe that the Britons constructed artificial roads before the arrival of the Romans, and as we know from Caesar that the country was densely peopled, we might expect to find their lines of communication worn into hollows. The accumulations of filth and refuse, which would necessarily result from a large traffic, when thrown aside for the greater convenience of passage, would soon form continuous mounds, and perhaps the more readily, inasmuch as such mounds might, in certain localities, be usefully employed as fences. There are many byways in the west of England, which, if turfed over, would be no unfair representatives of the British roads that still exist upon the downs of Wiltshire.

Our ancient boundary-lines seem also to admit of a threefold division. There are, first, the boundary-lines, which defined the territories of the British tribes before the Roman Conquest; secondly, those which were made by the Romanised


Parret River
Cranbourne Chase
Hamilton Hill
Hod Hill
Blandford
Comb Bank
Badbury
BADDAN BYRIG
Winterbourne R.
Stour River
Wymburne Mynster
Roman Road
Piddle River
Frome River
DURNOVARIA
Dorchester
Maiden Castle
Owre
Dike
Bindon Abbey
Weymouth
GRIMSDIKE
Clearbury
Whichbury
VINDOGLADIA
CERDICES FORD
Chardford
Bokerly Ditch
Holt Forest
Avon R.
Ringwood
Christchurch
Titchbury
Netley Marsh
Stone End
Itchen River
CLAUSENTUM
Waltham Chase
MEONWARE
BERE FOREST
West Meon
East Meon
Meon Stoke
PORTUS MAGNUS
REGNUM
Stone Street
WIHTGARA BURH
VECTIS
1 2 3 4 5 10 20 30


WHITTLEBURY FOREST
Stoney Stratford
Watling Street
LYGEAN BURH
Lenbury
CLEVUM
CLEAWAN CEASTER
The Fosse Way
The Ermin Way
Ermin Street
Akeman Street
Alchester
Wychwood Forest
ECONESHAM
Ensham
CERDICES LEAH
BERNWOOD FOREST
ÆGELES BURH
Aylesbury
Icknield Road
Chiltern Hills
Thames R.
Ingleshum
BENSINGTUN
WALLINGAFORD
Moulsford
Icknield Way
The Ridge Way
Streatley
Purborough
DOBUNI
ATREBATES
BELGÆ
DEORHAM
Marshfield
Avon River
AQUÆ SOLIS
BATHAN CEASTER
VERLUCIO
CUNETIO
Marlborough
SPINÆ
BEARRUC WUDU
CALLEVA
ATTREBATUM
Silchester
Mendip Hills
Glastonbury
ISCHALIS
Ilchester
Parret River
Selwood
Stonehenge
AMBRES BYRIG
Andover
Bury Hill
GWENT
WINTE
ANDRED
SORBIODUNUM
Chlorus Camp
VENTA BELGARUM
Teat River
Itchen River
CLAUSENTUM
MEONWARE
BERE FOREST
PORTUS MAGNUS
REGNUM
Farnham
Caesar's Camp
Winklebury
Bagshot Heath
Blackwater River
Cranbourne Chase
VINDOGLADIA
Badbury
BADDAN BYRIC
Ringwood
Christchurch
Avon R.
DURNOVARIA
Dorchester
Maiden Castle
Frome River
Piddle River
Weymouth
Bindon Abbey
Stone End
WIHTGARA BURH
VECTIS
WIHT
1 2 3 4 5 10 20 30 40

Britons; and thirdly, the march-dikes thrown up by our ancestors, after the English colonization of the island. The last of these three classes has sometimes attracted the attention of the historian; but the second, though for several reasons particularly interesting, has not, I believe, been hitherto noticed; and, if we except the speculations of Stukeley and Warton with respect to the 'Belgic ditches,' I am not aware that even the ancient British boundary-lines have as yet been made the subject of critical investigation.

According to Stukeley, the Belgae, as they gradually expelled the British tribes who preceded them, constructed four successive lines of defence[1]—Combe-bank, Bokerly-ditch, the ditch immediately north of Old Sarum, and Wansditch. Warton supposes there were no less than *seven* of these ditches. He does not enumerate them, but he probably added to Stukeley's four, the Grims-ditch south of Salisbury, the ditches on Gussage Cow-down, which really appertained to the British post of Vindo-gladia, and the ditch which runs over Salisbury plain to the north of Heytesbury. Neither Warton nor Stukeley points out the districts which they suppose to have been marked out by means of these boundary-lines, and the proximity of the lines to each other is adduced as a proof of the desperate resistance which the Belgae had to surmount before they could effect their conquest. The resistance must have been desperate indeed, which contested the possession of a few miles of worthless down-land; and the love of property equally strong, which could think such an acquisition worthy of being secured at the expense of so much labour. There can be little doubt, that the number of these boundary-lines

[1] That these ditches might occasionally throw impediments in the way of a party of freebooters is very possible, but that they were *military lines of defence*, like the Roman Walls in North Britain, or the Great Wall of China, is to the last degree improbable. Such lines of defence would require an organized body of men to guard them, and the maintenance of such a force would be beyond the means of races only imperfectly civilized. The proper character of these ditches is clearly that of *boundary-lines*.

has been exaggerated not only by Warton, but even by Stukeley.

It may be asked, what right have we to assume that the Belgae overspread the south of Britain, in successive waves of conquest, such as are pre-supposed in the hypothesis we are considering? The only ground for such a hypothesis that I am aware of, is contained in Caesar's statement, 'maritima pars ab iis (incolitur) qui praedae ac belli inferendi causâ ex Belgio transierant, qui omnes fere iis nominibus civitatum adpellantur quibus orti ex civitatibus eo pervenerunt, et bello inlato ibi remanserunt atque agros colere coeperunt.'—*B. G.* 5. 12. It may, perhaps, be inferred from this passage, that there was a succession of predatory inroads, some of which were followed by Belgic settlements; and when, in the district which we know to have been colonized by the Belgae, we find successive lines of boundary evidently made by a people inhabiting the seaboard, to separate themselves from the tribes of the interior, it may, I think, be admitted that the hypothesis advanced by Stukeley, and accepted by Warton, is, to say the least, not an unreasonable one.

If we attempt to trace the progress of Belgic conquest by the light of Welsh tradition, we shall be disappointed. The all but utter silence of the Triads, with respect to a people who fill such a place in history, is one of the most puzzling circumstances connected with these mysterious records. The Triad which mentions the three 'refuge-seeking tribes,' tells us, that the first of these tribes came from Galedin, and had lands allotted to them in the Isle of Wight. Welsh scholars consider Galedin to mean the Netherlands;[1] and perhaps we may conclude that, according to Welsh tradition, the Belgae came as refugees to this country, and were first

[1] This hypothesis would receive strong confirmation if we were justified in giving to the Belgic settlers of the south-east of Dorsetshire the name of *Morini*. But I believe our only authority for so doing is a dictum of 'Richard of Cirencester,' and I will not insult the reader by quoting a patent forgery. I allude to Bertram's clever fabrication, merely to show the reader that I have not overlooked it.

located in the Isle of Wight—driven, it may be, from their own country by some inundation of the sea, an accident which appears to have been the moving cause of several of those great migrations we read of in Roman history. It is clear from Caesar, that for some centuries before Christ, the Belgae were the most energetic and powerful—and among half-civilized races this means the most aggressive—of the Gaulish tribes; and we can have little difficulty in supposing that the fugitive Belgae, with the aid probably of their continental brethren, might soon change their character of refugees into that of assailants. Of the inlets, opposite the Isle of Wight, by which the mainland could be assailed, Tweon-ea (now Christchurch), at the mouth of the Stour and Avon, appears to have been one of the most important in the earlier periods of our history. Here, it would seem, the Belgae landed. The uplands in the neighbourhood are barren, but the valleys rich, and the Belgae, we may presume, were soon in possession of the pastures along the Stour as far as the neighbourhood of Blandford. This town lies in a kind of defile, over which, at that period, the woodlands of Cranbourne Chase in all probability extended. At this wooded gorge the Britons seem to have held their own, and the course of Belgic conquest to have been diverted—in the direction afterwards followed by the Roman road and the modern railway—into the valleys of the Piddle and the Frome. We may now ask, whether there be any earthworks which might serve as boundaries to the district we have thus marked out. In the first place, we observe between Holt-Forest and Cranbourne Chase, the well-known earthwork, called Bokerly-ditch, shutting in from the northward the rich valley drained by the Wymburne-brook. From Bokerly-ditch the boundary may have followed the outline of Cranbourne Chase, have crossed the Stour south of Blandford, and then run to the north-westward along Combe-bank. There was also, some years back, 'in the road from Bindon to Weymouth, a great ditch, like Wansdike, for

several miles.'—Hutchins' *Dorset*, i. 217. No such ditch is now visible on this line of road, but after a long day's search, I succeeded by an accident in finding[1] its mutilated remains between the Frome and Owre-brook. The bank was *to the eastward*, and I have little hesitation in regarding this dike as a portion of the western boundary of the first Belgic conquest. What course it took to join Combebank is, at present, only matter for conjecture; but there are reasons for believing that fragments of it still exist in the neighbourhood of the Piddle river and its tributaries.

The second Belgic conquest may have included the downs of Hants and South Wiltshire. The narrow valleys that intersect the latter meet in the neighbourhood of Old Sarum (Sorbiodunum), which must always have been, what in military language might be termed, the *key* of the district. The Hampshire downs appear to have been called by the Britons the Gwent, or champaign. No natural frontier separates these two tracts of down, but their northern boundary is indented, as it were, by the highlands around 'Scots Poor,' from which the greater part of their extent is visible. To this point the country rises from the east and south, and

[1] The dike ran nearly parallel to, and about one or two hundred yards west of 'the bounds' which separated Owre from Galton. For nearly a mile it had been fashioned into shape, and formed a clay-fence some eight feet thick. A wide stretch of arable land succeeded, on which it had been levelled within the last two years by an improving landlord. Its traces, however, were sufficiently obvious, and by following them, and clambering over some terrible fences, I again lighted on the object of my search, and found it running over the common for nearly a quarter of a mile, in very fair preservation. It terminated before it again reached cultivated land. I presume there must formerly have been a tract of woodland in the neighbourhood.

As these boundary-lines are often difficult to find, it may save future investigators trouble, and prevent mistakes, to learn that there are some other curious earthworks a little to the westward, round Woodford Castle. The agger runs from the Frome due south for about a mile, then turns at right angles, and after running half a mile eastwards, returns to the river. The agger was thrown *outwards* from the ditch. I suppose this work to have been the boundary of a very ancient park. A slight fence on the top of the mound, with the aid of the interior ditch, would have effectually prevented the deer from escaping. I have seen instances of similar earthworks in Berkshire and elsewhere, which seem to admit of the same explanation.

also, though more slowly, from the west. On the southern and eastern slopes we still find large masses of woodland—Collingbourn-wood, Dole-wood, &c.—and there can be little doubt that these high and barren downs were once encircled with a belt of forest. This description may serve to show the importance of these heights as a landmark, and in some measure to explain the fact, that at the present day three counties, and some seven or eight parishes, meet in the neighbourhood.

During a fortnight of rather inclement weather, I examined the country lying between Westbury and Ludgershall, and succeeded in finding most of the ditches described in the 'Ancient Wiltshire.' It is to be regretted that Sir R. C. Hoare was not more alive to the importance of distinguishing between the trackway and the boundary-dike. His usual phrase, 'a bank and a ditch,' more than once made me waste a day in searching for what proved, on examination, to be a mere drift-road. North of Heytesbury, however, I found an ancient boundary-line—one clearly of British origin, and *perhaps* anterior[1] to the Roman conquest. I traced it from the west of 'Knook Castle' to within a couple of miles of Tilshead, when it gradually died away in cultivated land. Ancient roads occasionally entered its ditch, more particularly at the salient angles,[2] and its mound was broken and pierced in all directions by the trackways leading to the two British villages north of

[1] There are the sites of two British villages near the boundary-line; and in a straggling portion of one of them, which lies beyond the dike, and which, therefore, must have been built after the boundary-line was *slighted* (to use a phrase of Cromwell's time), Sir R. C. Hoare found a stone-celt beside a skeleton. It is not probable that a primitive utensil like this was used after the arrival of the Romans; but the grave may have been there before the village extended itself beyond the agger.

Coins of Arcadius have been dug up among the ruins, but, I believe, no Saxon remains. We may conclude that the villages were burnt by the Saxon invaders, and never afterwards inhabited.

[2] It may be worth observing that, just at the angle where the boundary-line turns suddenly to the eastward, there lay a large stone on the top of the agger. I had not time to examine it minutely, nor even to chip off a fragment to ascertain the nature of the stone.

Knook Castle; but still, amid all the changes of two thousand years, its crest was seen stretching over the plain, and could be followed without the chance of a mistake. The next day I found 'the Tilshead ditch,' within little more than a mile from the spot where I had lost the former one.[1] It was a ditch with *two* mounds, and these gradually became lower as I traced it to the eastward, a mile or two beyond Tilshead. If this ditch be a continuation of the former one, I cannot satisfactorily account for its change of character.

I could find no remains of this Belgic boundary—if we may venture to give it such a title—north of Beacon Hill. Even 'the unmutilated remains of a bank and a ditch,' on Wick-down, turned out to be merely a deep ditch with a low mound on each side of it. But south of the hill, the Amesbury bounds presented appearances which strongly resembled those of an ancient earthwork, and we may be allowed to conjecture that they were once connected with the 'Devils Ditch,' east of Andover, and with the boundary-line, a fragment of which still remains to the south of Walbury.

According to these speculations, the second Belgic boundary must have included the valleys of South Wiltshire, and then have swept round, so as to separate the downs of Hampshire from the woodlands which encircled Scots Poor. The hypothesis does not seem an unreasonable one, and I know of no other which can satisfactorily account either for the boundary-line to the north of Heytesbury, or for the lines which are found in the neighbourhood of Walbury and Andover.[2]

[1] When these mounds approach the 'Long Barrow,' which lies about a mile from Tilshead, they turn at right angles, and after having half enclosed the mound, pursue their former course. Our best chance of explaining anomalies like these, would be a really critical edition of the 'Gromatici veteres.'

[2] It may, perhaps, be said, that the lines near Walbury and Andover might have been the boundaries of a Belgic settlement, whose capital was Winchester; and which was united to its western neighbour before British geography was known to the Romans. But there is reason to believe that the State of the

It will be seen that the writer differs from Stukeley in considering the first and second of his ditches as forming parts of one continuous boundary; and in denying altogether to the ditch which runs immediately north of Old Sarum, the character of a Belgic earthwork.[1] Were this last ditch made by the Belgae, we must suppose, that although the invaders were strong enough to capture such a fortress as Old Sarum, they were not powerful enough to possess themselves of the valleys which it commanded —an inference which at once shows us the falseness of the premiss that led to it. With respect to the connexion supposed to have existed between Combe-bank and Bokerly-ditch, it may be right to state, that I have not examined the course of Bokerly-ditch west of the Roman Road, and only cursorily the line of country which intervenes between the two earthworks. Combe-bank still crosses the down, in fine preservation, from the neighbourhood of Winterbourne Clenstone to Col-wood. For some distance it forms the boundary of this wood, and then enters it and disappears. My guide[2] professed to trace the bank to the north of Mapperton, but I must confess that to my eyes it was invisible. Its course, however, when I last recognized it,

Southern Belgae was not merely a political, but an ethnographical unity. The other Belgic districts, though politically united, are always spoken of as peopled by different races; but the classical writers, whenever they speak of the Belgic Province, treat it as a whole.

It may be observed, that there are some ditches near Chisborough, which have not been inserted in the map. There can be little doubt that *four* distinct lines of boundary passed near that fortress, and to have noticed the remains of all these boundaries would have answered no good purpose, and would have made the plan much too complicated.

[1] The period at which, and the purpose for which, this earthwork was constructed, were sufficiently discussed at Salisbury. Those who feel an interest in the matter may see what are the writer's views on this subject, by consulting the paper he has written for the Salisbury Volume on the 'Early English Settlements in South Britain.' [Above, pp. 147–199.]

[2] His testimony must not be altogether rejected, as he has for years 'cried the Courts' at the bank, and therefore may be considered as familiar with all the circumstances connected with it. After proclamations duly made on this ancient earthwork, the courts are held in the valley at an old manor house, which lies some two miles from the bank.

pointed eastward in the direction of Badbury, which was full in sight, and about four miles distant. I felt a strong conviction that the information given to Leland (according to which it went to Lytchet Maltravers) was erroneous. It seemed to me clearly intended as a boundary to separate the Winterbourne valley from the bleak and swelling downs to the north-eastward, and to be as clearly connected with the great fortress, which lifted itself aloft on the other side of the Stour directly in our front. As Badbury commands the valley, where lay Vindogladia—which existing remains, as well as the Itineraries, point out as the capital of the district—and as Bokerly-ditch was obviously intended as the northern boundary of this valley, it seems difficult to escape the conclusion that both Combe-bank and Bokerly-ditch were constructed as parts of one design, by the same people, and at the same, or nearly the same period. That people we may conjecture to be the Belgae, and the period five or four, or, it may be, only three centuries before the Christian aera.

The general consent of our antiquaries has fixed upon the Wansdike as the last of the Belgic boundaries. Were it called the last frontier of the Belgic province--understanding by that phrase the district which the Roman geographers assigned to the Belgae proper—I should be little disposed to quarrel with the conclusion they have come to. Nor would I venture summarily to dismiss even the suggestion of Stukeley, that it was Divitiacus who here fixed the limits of the Belgic dominion, though I may smile at the etymological trifling by which he endeavours to support his hypothesis. This Divitiacus, Caesar tells us, had been King of the Suessiones, and even in his time (nostrâ etiam memoriâ) the most powerful chief in all Gaul. He tells us also that Divitiacus had obtained a supremacy not only over a great portion of Belgic Gaul, but also over a great part of Britain—'qui quum magnae partis harum regionum tum etiam Britanniae imperium obtinuerit.' By what steps he obtained this supremacy we are not told,

but we may surmise that it was with his aid that the Belgae pushed their conquests into the interior of the island, and that the *imperium* naturally followed conquests so extensive and important. The question remains, what was the locality and the real extent of these latter Belgic conquests. If, as is probable, the British king who opposed Caesar belonged to the intrusive race, then the Belgae must have obtained possession of the vale of Aylesbury, and the plains of Hertfordshire previous to the year 55 B.C.; and we may infer that they acquired these districts under the leadership of Divitiacus, for we do not learn that Verulam had fallen into the hands of Cassivelaunus by any recent act of conquest. There still exist some interesting lines of earthwork, which seem to have been made with a view to separate the new conquests from the country of the Trinobantes. They have been as yet only partially examined, and with very little intelligence; but as they are mixed up with another system of boundary-lines, it would require a more lengthened notice than our present limits will admit of to discuss this question satisfactorily.

It is possible that the same monarch who settled the boundaries of the Catyeuchlani—I give the word as it is usually written, without vouching for its correctness—may also have pushed forward the Belgic frontier to the Wansdike. There are, however, difficulties in the way of such a conclusion which are calculated to shake our faith in the soundness of Stukeley's hypothesis. Every critical reader will, I think, admit that the Roman geographers and historians looked upon the Belgic province as an organic whole, which might indeed have developed itself at successive periods, but was not a mere aggregation of separate and independent parts. With respect to the states lying north of the Andred—i.e. of the great forest which spread over the wealds of Kent and Sussex—the case was different. The Cantii, the Atrebates, the Catyeuchlani, were probably all three Belgic races; and indeed, as regards the Atrebates, we are able to make this assertion positively. All three

seem to have been subject to the *imperium* of Cassivelaunus, but there is nothing to lead us to the inference that the Southern Belgae acknowledged his supremacy. As so few years separated the reign of this prince from that of Divitiacus, it is a reasonable presumption that he was, if not a descendant, at least a successor of the Gaulish monarch, and consequently that the limits of his dominion defined the British *imperium* of his great predecessor. If so, the course of conquest which Divitiacus traced out must have nearly coincided with that followed by later invaders—by Caesar, by Plautius, and by the Norman William; and consequently this celebrated Belgic chief could not have been the conqueror who reared the Wansdike.

This magnificent earthwork reached from the woodlands of Berkshire to the British Channel. Its remains have been carefully surveyed by Sir R. C. Hoare. The conquests it was intended to include seem to have been, first, the Vale of Pewsey; secondly, the mineral district of the Mendip Hills; and, thirdly, the country lying between this range and the marshes of the Parret. Ptolemy gives us Winchester, Bath[1], and Ilchester, as the three principal towns of the Belgic province. If we run a line along the Wansdike from Berkshire to the Channel, then along the coast to the Parret, then up that river eastward till we strike the southern borders of Wiltshire, and then follow the first Belgic boundary across Dorsetshire to the sea, we shall have defined, with tolerable accuracy, the northern and western boundaries, which Roman geographers assigned to the Belgae proper.

[1] Bath is just without the Belgic boundary, and therefore could not have been a Belgic town. Ptolemy has, in other instances, assigned towns situated near a frontier to the wrong people; thus he gives London to the Cantii. There are generally circumstances connected with the towns thus misplaced, which help us to explain the blunder; we have reason to believe that London had a suburb south of the river, even in the Roman times; and the Belgic fortress on the Wansdike, which lay immediately above the hot baths, may very probably have led the geographer into making the mis-statement that has given rise to the present note.

It will be seen that the Wansdike bends to the south, as if to avoid Avebury, and approaches close to, but does not include, Bath. It seems reasonable to infer, that when the line of demarcation was drawn, the Dobuni insisted on the retention of their ancient temple, and of their hot baths; and if this inference be a just one, another and a more important one seems naturally to follow. Assuming that the Belgae were thus excluded from Avebury, is it not likely that they would provide a 'locus consecratus' at some central point within their own border—a place for their judicial assemblies, like the Gaulish temple, 'in finibus Carnutum[1], quae regio totius Galliae media habetur?' May not Stonehenge have been the substitute so provided?

There seems to be two opinions prevalent with respect to the date of this mysterious monument. There are antiquaries who maintain that it was built before the Christian era, at some period of great and undefined antiquity; and others, who would postpone its erection to a period subsequent to the Roman occupation of the island.

The first of these opinions is generally supported on the authority of a passage in Diodorus Siculus, which appears to have been taken from Hecataeus of Abdera, who flourished about three centuries before the Christian era. According to this authority, there was among the Hyperboreans a round temple dedicated to Apollo, and situated in an island 'opposite Celtica.' Our English antiquaries assume, that the word Celtica, in this passage, was used with the same meaning as by Strabo and his contemporaries, or, in other words, that it signified Gaul, and they conclude that the island was Britain, and the round temple Stonehenge, or

[1] Caes. B. G. 6. 13. Does not the name of *Carnutes* mean the people of *Car-nut*, in modern Welsh, *Caer nawdd*, the City of the Sanctuary? In the discourse which the writer delivered at Salisbury, on 'the Early English Settlements in South Britain,' one of the points he contended for was this, that both Stonehenge and the great monastery which was afterwards built in its neighbourhood, were known as the *nawdd*, or sanctuary, and that it was from this Welsh word that the Anglo-Saxons got their *Nat-e*, and also the title by which they designated Ambrosius, viz. *Natan leod*. [See above, pp. 182, 183.]

Avebury, or the Rolrich circle, according to the particular hypothesis they are interested in supporting. Swedish antiquaries give to *Celtica* a wider meaning, and, as the ancients considered Scandinavia to be an island, they boldly claim the round temple of the Hyperboreans as Swedish property. Wesseling, in a sensible note, examines these different hypotheses, and, for reasons which appear satisfactory, rejects them. He is inclined to fix the round temple far more to the eastward than would suit the views either of our own or of the Swedish antiquaries; and whether we agree with him or not, the criticism which identifies Stonehenge with this temple of the Hyperboreans, rests, I think, on grounds much too questionable to secure the assent of any cautious inquirer.

The opinion which assigns to Stonehenge, and indeed to *all* our Druidical structures, a date posterior to the Roman conquest, is the one most generally entertained at the present day. It has been elaborately maintained by Mr. J. Rickman[1]. He objects to an earlier date for Avebury, because it adjoins to a Roman road; because it resembles a Roman amphitheatre; because its dimensions seem to be adjusted to the measure of a Roman mile; and lastly, because the engineer, who made the Roman road, did not avail himself of the deep ditch round Silbury, to lessen the steepness of the ascent; whence we may conclude that such ditch was not in existence when the road was made. His attempts to support the second and third[2] of these

[1] *Archaeologia*, vol. 28.

[2] The avenue which stretched south-east from the main temple, was intersected by the Roman road, and, according to Rickman, the distance of Silbury both from the point of intersection and from the centre of the Avebury circle, was a Roman mile. I can only say, that according to *my* measurement, Silbury hill is distant from the centre of the circle *more* than a Roman mile, and from the point of intersection *very considerably less*. But even were the measurement correct, how could the symmetry of the structure be anyway dependent on the distance of Silbury from the point where the road cut through the avenue? The proper inference seems to be, that the Romans would not allow a great public road to be diverted out of its course, in order to spare the mere adjuncts of a building, whose hold upon the respect and reverence of the people had probably been for some time declining.

positions appear to the writer to be most unsatisfactory; and with respect to the first, it might be answered, that the Roman road from Silchester to Bath was, in all probability, preceded by a British trackway, and that the point where the Icknield road crossed such trackway, was well suited for the site of a great national temple; while the fact that the Roman engineers did not avail themselves of the lower level afforded them by the ditch, might be owing to their unwillingness to wound the national prejudices by violating unnecessarily a national monument. Rickman maintains, that tools of mixed metal, such as are found in the barrows of the early Britons, would have been unequal to the 'respectable workmanship,' which he observed on the tenons and mortices of the Stonehenge trilithons; and that stone so hard could only have been worked after the introduction of steel tools. As we know that 'the maritime states' produced iron in the time of Caesar, it is clear that any hypothesis which does not carry back the origin of Stonehenge more than a century or two before the Christian era, will not be affected by the difficulty here suggested.

Mr. Herbert's theory may be considered, in one point of view, as a modification of Rickman's. He supposes that Stonehenge, Avebury, and our other 'megalithic monuments' were erected *after the Romans had left the island*; and he has exhibited no small acuteness and learning in support of this startling hypothesis. According to his theory, the bards and other favourers of the old superstition returned from Ireland, whither they had been driven by the influence of Roman civilization, and of Christianity; heathenism, for a while, regained its ascendency, and the enthusiasm awakened by the return to old habits and feelings, and by a sense of recovered independence, led to the erection of these mighty structures. Mr. Herbert skilfully avails himself of Rickman's arguments, and presses upon us the additional one, that the so-called Druidical temples, and other similar erections, are only to be found in Britain,

or in countries closely connected with it, as Brittany; and therefore must have been the results of causes operating partially, and not the general expression—the necessary outward manifestation—of a religion so widely diffused as the Druidical. Every candid reader will admit, that there is considerable weight in the argument last referred to. Do the following considerations supply us with a sufficient answer to it?

We know from Caesar, that Britain was looked upon by the Gauls, both as the great centre of Druidism, and as the country in which its peculiar doctrines originated; 'disciplina in Britanniâ reperta, atque inde in Galliam translata esse existimatur; et nunc qui diligentius eam rem cognoscere volunt, plerumque illo discendi causâ proficiscuntur.'—*B. G.* 6. 13. We might therefore expect to find in Britain, and such countries as were intimately connected with it, more marked traces of the peculiar structures which characterized this system, than are to be met with elsewhere. It seems also to be a fact, that, with the exception of Stonehenge, to which I shall shortly advert more particularly, all the larger Druidical temples are situated in places where the blocks of stone, commonly called Sarsen stones, abound, or, at least, are known at one time to have abounded; and that the geological conditions which distinguish such localities, occur more frequently in England than in the interior of France. I think, therefore, we may account for the unfrequent occurrence of these structures in such parts of Gaul as are remote from its western coast, without being driven to the conclusion which Mr. Herbert would bring us to.

There is one argument against the theory which assigns to Stonehenge, and the other Druidical structures, a date subsequent to the Roman occupation of the island, which the members of an Archaeological society are peculiarly fitted to appreciate. We all know—the principles on which our 'Gothic buildings' were so long constructed sufficiently teach us—how difficult it is for an architect to

compose in a new style of architecture, and at the same time to keep his mind unswayed by the forms to which he has long been accustomed. Now I do not forget that Inigo Jones started the hypothesis, that Stonehenge was 'a hypaethral temple'; but in his day the fundamental principles which distinguish the different systems of architectural construction had been but little studied, and the researches of modern times have placed us on a vantage-ground that enables us to estimate, at its proper value, a theory which, coming from a man so eminent, might otherwise occasion us some difficulty. After thus much of preface, I would ask the archaeological reader, whether he thinks it comes within the limits of a reasonable probability, that men who had, for centuries, been familiarized with the forms of Roman architecture, could have built Stonehenge?

If we suppose Stonehenge to have been erected after the Southern Belgae had pushed their frontier to the Wansdike, and not long before Divitiacus obtained his *imperium* over the other Belgic races, every difficulty vanishes. The manufacture of iron was probably known in Britain at that period, though it seems to have been only lately introduced, as Caesar tells us, not many years afterwards, that the metal was not abundant[1], 'ejus exigua est copia'; and we are accordingly able to account for 'the respectable workmanship,' which Rickman observed at Stonehenge, and which certainly presents difficulties in the way of the hypothesis, that assigns to Stonehenge the remote antiquity sometimes given to it. Again, our geologists seem to be agreed, that the huge blocks of sandstone, which form the trilithons at Stonehenge, must have come from the neighbourhood of the vale of Pewsey. Now the amount of physical power equal to the transport of such large masses,

[1] Iron appears to have been scarce, at least in the remoter parts of Britain, as late as the beginning of the third century. Herodian informs us, that the tribes who opposed Severus decked their loins and necks with this metal (i.e. I suppose, made their *torcs* of iron, and covered their girdles with it), and esteemed it not only as an ornament but also as a *proof of wealth*.

would exhaust the whole resources of the district; and we may safely conclude that the builders of Stonehenge, whoever they were, must also have been lords of the fertile vale, so celebrated in the annals of agriculture. If the Belgae were the builders, it follows necessarily that this temple was erected after the vale became Belgic territory, or, as we may otherwise phrase it, after the Wansdike had been raised. That Stonehenge *had* some peculiar relation to the Belgic province, may be inferred from its central position within it. The capital towns of the Celtic races were often on the confines of their territories; as Winchester and Ilchester, near the borders of the Belgae; and Silchester near those of the Atrebates. The facilities which such positions afforded for the defence of the frontier, may have been the reasons why they were selected. But we may gather from the passage already quoted, relative to the Gaulish temple, that a central situation was thought most suitable for the 'locus consecratus,' where justice was administered, and the national assemblies held. That Stonehenge was such 'locus consecratus' is admitted by all, who regard it as a Celtic structure; and the enormous labour which was expended in transporting the materials to the spot, proves that the spot on which it stands was thought peculiarly eligible. I can point to no circumstances which could have made it so, save those which have been suggested.

The peculiarities which distinguish the structure of Stonehenge, seem to afford us additional arguments in support of the conclusions we have come to. Most of our Celtic temples are surrounded by a circular ditch. Now at Avebury, and in other cases, the mound or agger is on the outside of the ditch, while at Stonehenge it is within it. This new arrangement seems to indicate the usages of a new people; while the general style of the building, the more artistic plan, the use of imposts, the well-executed tenons and mortices, and the worked surfaces of the uprights, all seem to point to a later age, and a more

advanced civilization. I think therefore we may fairly conclude, that Stonehenge is of later date than Avebury and the other structures of unwrought stone; that it could not have been built much later than the year 100 B.C., and in all probability was not built more than a century or two earlier. As to the antiquity of *Avebury*, I dare offer no conjecture. If the reader be more venturesome, and should fix its erection some eight or ten centuries before our aera, it would be difficult to advance any critical reasons against his hypothesis.

NOTICE TO THE READER.—Portions of the map which is attached to this paper are coloured yellow. They are intended to represent the districts that were retained by the Britons after the conclusion of the treaty of the Mons Badonicus, A.D. 520. The boundary-lines, which, in certain localities, mark out the frontier, are supposed to have been constructed—or, it may be, in some cases, adopted—by the Britons upon that occasion.

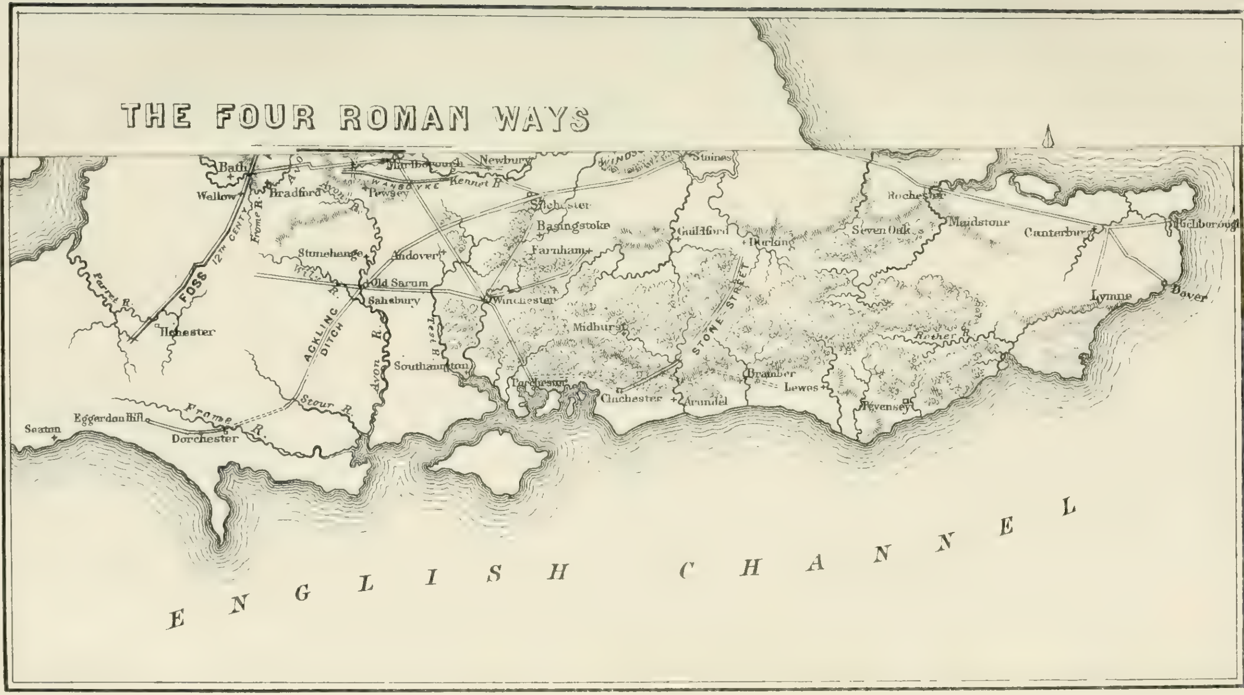
THE FOUR ROMAN WAYS.

[Extracted from the Archaeological Journal, No. 54. This paper contains the material portions of the discourses delivered at the meetings of the Archaeological Institute at Cambridge in 1854, and at Edinburgh in 1856.]

In the fifth year after the Conquest, inquisition was made throughout the kingdom into the ancient laws and customs of England. The results of the inquiry are commonly known as the Laws of the Confessor, though we are told that the laws were really made by Edgar, and merely revived by the Confessor after the interregnum of the Danes. From this source we learn, that there were at that time in England four great roads protected by the King's Peace, of which two ran lengthways through the island, and two crossed it, and that the names of the four were respectively, Watlinge-strete, Fosse, Hikenilde-strete, and Erming-strete. These are the roads which are popularly but incorrectly known as 'the four Roman ways,' and whose course it is proposed to investigate in the present paper.

The King's Peace was a high privilege. Any offence committed on these highways was tried, not in the local court where local influence might interfere with the administration of justice, but before the king's own officers; and we may therefore feel surprise when we find that the identity of two of the roads thus privileged, viz. the Icknield Street and the Erming Street, was the subject of differences of opinion, or at least of statement, within some seventy or eighty years after the Conquest. But though the privileges of the Four Roads were confirmed by William, and continued by his successor, yet as we have reason to believe that in the first half of the twelfth century the King's Peace was extended to *all* the highways[1] in the

[1] In the Laws ascribed to Henry the First, I find the statement 'omnes herestrete omnino regis sunt.'


THE FOUR ROMAN WAYS
ENGLISH CHANNEL
FOSS
12TH CENTY
ACKLING DITCH
STONE STREET
WANSDYKE
Bath
Wellow
Bradford
Frome R.
Parret R.
Ilchester
Stonehenge
Andover
Old Sarum
Salisbury
Avon R.
Test R.
Southampton
Stour R.
Frome R.
Dorchester
Eggerdon Hill
Seaton
Marlborough
Pewsey
Newbury
Kennet R.
Silchester
Basingstoke
Farnham
Winchester
Midhurst
Chichester
Arundel
Staines
Guildford
Dorking
Bramber
Lewes
Pevensey
Seven Oaks
Rochester
Maidstone
Canterbury
Lymne
Dover
Rother R.


THE FOUR ROMAN WAYS
FOS.
WÆTLINGA STRÆT.
ICENHILDE STRÆT.
EARMINGA STRÆT.
ENGLISH CHANNEL
HIGH STREET
CHIMINUM FOSSE
WÆTLINGA STRÆT
STONE STREET
ACKLING DITCH
LONDON
Lincoln
Doncaster
Manchester
Warrington
Chester
Chesterfield
Shrewsbury
Welshpool
Leicester
Loughborough
High Cross
Coventry
Northampton
Huntingdon
Cambridge
Bedford
Worcester
Gloucester
Cheltenham
Cirencester
Monmouth
Bristol
Bath
Ilchester
Dorchester
Old Sarum
Winchester
Southampton
Chichester
Guildford
Canterbury
Dover
Maidstone
Chelmsford
Colchester
Bury St Edmunds
Norwich
Kings Lynn
Peterborough
Stamford
Ely
St Albans
Dunstable
Towcester
R. Severn
Mersey R.
Trent R.
Dove R.
Derwent R.
Thames R.
Kennet R.

kingdom, the question which were the lines of traffic that once exclusively enjoyed this protection, became one of merely antiquarian interest, and therefore the less likely to attract attention. The inquiry, however, is of considerable historical importance, and the conflicting opinions which have been lately published on the subject show, that modern criticism has not yet led to any satisfactory settlement of its difficulties.

There are antiquaries who tell us, that the Erming Street was the Roman road that led from St. David's (Menevia) through Gloucester to Winchester and Southampton, and the Icknield Street, the ancient road that led from Derbyshire southward by the West of Arden. There are others who tell us, that the Icknield Street was the trackway which ran along the chalk downs from Norfolk and Suffolk eastward, and the Erming Street the highway which went northward from London in a line nearly coincident with that of the present North Road.

The first of these two parties ground their opinions on the authority of Higden, the monk of Chester, who wrote about the middle of the fourteenth century; but they carefully avoid all mention of Geoffrey of Monmouth, whose story that writer at least partially followed. According to Geoffrey, King Belinus son of King Molmutius constructed the Four Roads some four centuries before Christ. One of them 'he ordered to be made of stone and mortar, the length of the island, from the sea of Cornwall to the shore of Caithness, so as to lead in a straight course to the intermediate cities. Another road he ordered to be made the breadth of the island, from the city of Menevia on the Sea of Demetia to the port of Hamton (Southampton), in order to afford access to the cities between these places. Two others he also made which crossed the island obliquely,' &c.[1]

It will be seen that Geoffrey does not give any names to his Four Roads, and except in the case of his second road does not mention any locality which fixes their identity

[1] Galf. Mon. 3, 5.

beyond dispute. His first road, in all probability, was intended to represent the Foss: the second, there can be no doubt, was meant for the Roman road which passed from South Wales through Monmouthshire to Gloucester, and thence to Winchester and Southampton. I cannot find the slightest corroborative evidence to show that this was one of the four great Roads, and I believe it was selected by this unscrupulous writer, merely because it was an ancient highway, and passed through his native county.

Higden repeats the story of King Molmutius and his son Belinus. The latter he tells us, 'caused four royal roads to be made through the island, and protected them with extraordinary privileges. Of these the first and greatest is called Fosse, and stretches from south to north, from its commencement in Cornwall at Totenesse, to the extreme point of Scotland at Catenesse. To speak more accurately, however, according to others it begins in Cornwall and stretching through Devon and Somerset runs by Tetbury on Cotswold, and by Coventry to Leicester, and thence over the open wolds, ending at Lincoln. The second highway is called Watling Strete, stretching across the former road, viz. from south-west to north-east, for it begins at Dover, and passes through the midst of Kent, and over the Thames nigh London, and west of Westminster. Thence it passes near to, and to the west of St. Alban's, through Dunstable, Stratford, Towcester, Weedon, south of Lilbourn, through Atherston (per Atherscotiam) to Gilbert's Mount, which is now called the Wrekine. Thence it passes the Severn by Wrokcester, and running to Stretton and through the midst of Wales to Cardigan, is terminated on the Irish Sea. The third highway is called Erninge Strete, and stretches from west to east. It begins at Mavonia (Menevia?), in West-Wales, and goes to Hamo's Port[1], which is now called Southampton. The fourth highway is called Rykeneld Strete, and stretches from the south to the north-east,

[1] Geoffrey fables that Southampton took its name from Hamo, a Roman who was slain there.

beginning at Mavonia aforesaid, and running through Worcester, through Wich, through Birmingham, Lechefeld, Derby, Chesterfield, York, to the mouth of the River Tine which is called Tinemouth[1].'

Higden's account of the course of the two roads, the Watling Street and the Foss, is, with the exceptions hereafter to be noticed, accurate and important. He is said to have been a great traveller, and probably spoke from his own observation. At any rate, these two great thoroughfares were so much frequented, that they must have been familiarly known to most of the strangers who visited his monastery, and the minute details into which he has entered, more particularly with respect to the Watling Street, are extremely valuable.

His account of Erming Street Higden evident took from Geoffrey, and he seems to have thought that as this highway and the Watling Street crossed the island, and the Foss was the only road that ran lengthways through it, the remaining highway must also run in that direction. Now in travelling along the Watling Street from Chester to London, the first road which Higden came to that fulfilled this condition was the Rykeneld Street. and as its name bore some resemblance to Icknield Street he seems to have been led by a false critical inference to adopt it as one of the four great roads. The popularity of Higden's work gave currency to the notion, and the Rykeneld Street seems gradually to have attached to itself the name of Icknield Street. It must have borne this name early in the seventeenth century, for Dugdale, in his History of Warwickshire, tells us that through a great part of its course it was called 'Ickle Street,' which is merely a corruption of Icknield Street; and at the present day the many 'Icknield Houses' and 'Icknield Terraces' which are met with along this road, more particularly where it skirts the great iron district of Staffordshire, is evidence that no doubt is entertained in that neighbourhood of its

[1] Polychronicon, lib. i.

identity with the more ancient and more celebrated thoroughfare.

The editor of 'The Ancient Laws and Institutes of England,' adopts the whole of Higden's views with respect to the Four Roads, and suggests that his Rykeneld Street may be merely a clerical blunder for Hikenilde Strete. But Mr. Thorpe forgot that Hikenilde Strete itself is obviously an instance of that blundering spelling which so often disfigures our names of places in writings posterior to the Conquest, and that the more correct Anglo-Saxon orthography Icenhilde straet, of which we shall speak shortly, lends but little countenance to his hypothesis. He forgot also that Selden considered the name of Rykeneld Street 'justifiable by a very ancient deed of lands bounded near Birmingham in Warwickshire by Recneld[1];' that the Eulogium[2], which as regards this matter seems to be something more than a mere copy of Higden's work, has the name of Rykneld; and that Pegge found 'in an old survey or map of the country about Tupton Moor (in Derbyshire), where this road goes, &c., which was made in the beginning of the last century (i.e. soon after the year 1600), it was called Rignall Street[3].' It would seem then that the name of Rykeneld Street does not depend solely on the integrity of Higden's text, but has independent grounds[4] to rest upon, and consequently that the difficulty which arises from the discrepancy of the name remains in its full force. It is matter of regret that in a work published under official sanction opinions open to such grave objections should have been adopted so lightly.

[1] Notes on the Polyolbion, Song 16. [2] Cotton MSS., Galb. E. 7.

[3] Bibliotheca Topographica, vol. 4.

[4] *One* of the authorities, which Gale quotes in support of his conclusion, that the road in question was called Rykneld Street, must be given up. He tells us that the name of Rykneld Street may be found in a charter (t. H. 3), granting lands to Hilton Abbey, in Staffordshire. The name, as I find it written in the Monasticon, is Richmilde Streete. The difference in the orthography might not, perhaps, be decisive against his inference; but I have discovered the locality of the estate granted by the charter, and I find it lying in the heart of the Potteries. The road referred to in the charter as Richmilde Street, must

We have now to examine the views of those antiquaries who transfer the Icknield and the Erming Streets to the eastern parts of the island—that district, where traces of an early civilization are most obvious, and whose relative importance becomes the more striking the deeper we penetrate into the antiquities of British History.

Henry of Huntingdon flourished in the first half of the twelfth century, and consequently was a contemporary of Geoffrey of Monmouth. In his History we read, 'In such estimation was Britain held by its inhabitants that they made in it four roads from end to end, which were placed under the King's protection, to the intent that no one should dare to make an attack upon his enemy on these roads. The first passes from East to West and is called Ichenild (in some MSS. *Ikenild*), the second runs from South to North and is called Erninge Strete, the third crosswise from Dover (Dorobernia) to Chester, i. e. from South-East to North-West, and is called Watlinge Strete, the fourth, the greatest of all, begins at Totenes and ends in Catnes, in other words runs from the commencement of Cornwall to the limits of Scotland, and this road passes across the island from the South-West to the North-East. It is called Fossa, and passes through Lincoln. These are the four great Roads of England, spacious in their dimensions, and admirable for their construction, protected alike by the edicts of our Kings and the written laws of the land[1].'

have been more than twenty miles distant from any portion of the Rykneld Street.

There is an ancient highway, leading to South Shields, at the mouth of the Tyne, which is known as the *Wraken-dyke*. It was called by this name in a charter of the thirteenth century (vide Arch. Æliana, 2. 129), and in a charter of the twelfth century, a place in its immediate neighbourhood was named *Wrachennd-berge* (ib.). This highway was certainly considered by Higden to be a portion of the *Rickneld Street*, and possibly the two names may be connected in their etymology. A writer in the Gent. Mag. (April, 1836) suggests that Rickenhall, in the parish of Aycliffe, Durham, may be a connected word, but I am not aware that any traces either of the Rykeneld Street or of the Wrakin-dyke have been found in its neighbourhood.

[1] Hist. Angl. 1.

The courses which Huntingdon assigns to the four Roads are wholly irreconcileable with Geoffrey's Road from St. David's to Southampton, and also with Higden's Rykeneld Street, but as regards the Foss and the Watling Street there is only a partial disagreement between his account and the accounts of these two writers. Huntingdon carries the Watling Street from Dover to Chester, while Higden carries it from Dover to Wroxeter and thence to Cardigan. As Welsh Princes were reigning over Cardigan during the tenth and eleventh centuries, the King of England's peace could not have run into that district at a time when 'the Confessor's Laws' were compiled, and consequently the Watling Street which those Laws refer to could not possibly have taken the course which Higden assigns to it. But as the whole line of road from Dover to Chester was under the control both of Edgar and of the Confessor, there is nothing in Huntingdon's account which is inconsistent with the known facts of our History, and thus far at least we have grounds on which to rest a presumption in its favour.

The earliest mention of the Watling Street that I have met with occurs in the treaty between Alfred and Guthrum, which was probably made in the year 879. According to this treaty, the boundary-line which separated the territories of the two Kings ran up the Lea to its source, then straight to Bedford, and thence up the Ouse to Watling Street [1]. Among the charters of the tenth century are five [2] which mention Watling Street, and I believe I can point out the situation of all the estates these charters refer to. One of them was situated in the neighbourhood of Wroxeter, another in the neighbourhood of London, and the other three in the counties of Bedford, Buckingham, and Northampton. We may conclude therefore with toler-

[1] Vide 'Aelfrides and Guthrumes Frith' in 'The Ancient Laws and Institutes of England.'

[2] Cod. Dipl., Nos. 399, 449, 590, 1099, 1275. The last-quoted Charter may be a forgery, but if so, it must be one of great antiquity.

able certainty that in the tenth century the whole line of road from London to Wroxeter was known as the Watling Street, and according to the tenor of the Confessor's Laws must have enjoyed the privilege of the King's Peace. Whether the privilege extended beyond these limits may be open to dispute. The street in Canterbury through which the road from London to Dover passes has been known from an early date as the Watling Street. This, however, is by no means decisive as to the point in question. The street in London which bears the name of Watling Street could have formed no part of the highway, at least if we give any credit to Higden's statement, which makes the highway pass the river west of Westminster. The London street may have taken its name from the circumstance that travellers by the highway passed along it on entering the city; and in like manner persons travelling from the North-West to Dover may have given the name of Watling Street to the highway South of the Thames, on the supposition that it was merely a continuation of the road along which they had been travelling. The ancient road which runs from Wroxeter through South Wales probably received its name of Watling Street for a similar reason, viz. because the traveller from London to South-Wales passed first along the real Watling Street, and then along this road to his destination.

Still, however, Huntingdon may not have been mistaken in making Dover and Chester the termini of the Watling Street. It certainly was a prevalent notion in the beginning of the twelfth century that each of the Four Roads reached from sea to sea. The phrase used in the Laws of the Confessor 'duo in longitudinem regni, alii vero in latitudinem distenduntur' may in some measure have countenanced the notion; but I am inclined to think that it had something better than a mere phrase of doubtful interpretation to rest upon, and that the Watling Street at the least did really fulfil this condition.

The Foss is mentioned in several of our Anglo-Saxon

charters[1], some of which date as early as the eighth century. I think I may venture to say that all the estates described in these charters can still be pointed out. With one exception all the properties lay along the Foss, north of Bath and within some fifty or sixty miles of that city. The exceptional charter refers to an estate at Wellow, three miles south of Bath. It is no doubt a forgery, but could not have been fabricated later than the twelfth century, and therefore is good authority for our present purpose. To the same century belongs the charter which is quoted by Gale, and by which Henry I. granted permission to Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln, to divert the 'Chiminum Fosse' so as to make it pass through his town of Newark. We may then reasonably conclude, that the whole of the Roman Road between Ilchester and Lincoln was known as the Foss during the twelfth century, and probably at a much earlier period, and therefore, that in all likelihood the whole of the road between these termini was protected by the King's Peace during the reign of the Confessor. If the King's Peace ran beyond Lincoln, it may have followed the 'High Street' which stretches north from Lincoln to the Humber. South of Ilchester the Roman Road has been very imperfectly traced. It seems to point to Seaton, which is generally taken to be the Roman Maridunum, but it may have turned westward and gone to Exeter—a course which would better agree with the accounts left us by Huntingdon and Higden. We must not, however, lay too much stress on the phrase used by these writers, 'from Totness to Caithness.' It was merely a proverbial expression to denote the entire length of the island, and may be found even in Nennius.

The *Icenhilde weg* is mentioned in several charters[2] of the tenth century, which appear to refer to six different

[1] Cod. Dipl., Nos. 136, 426, 566, 620, 643, 817.

[2] Cod. Dipl., Nos. 578, 1080, 1129, 1151, 1172. The estate referred to in No. 1053, which, by the by, Mr. Kemble marks as subject to suspicion, I have not been able to identify.

estates, five of which may, I think, be still pointed out very satisfactorily. They lie in Berkshire, between Blewbury and Welands Smithy; and so minute is the description of the boundaries as almost to enable us to furnish a map of the district, such as it existed at that early period. The earliest mention of the Icknield Way *north* of Thames which I have met with is furnished by 'the ancient parchment' belonging to the Heralds' College, from which Dugdale took his account of the founding of Dunstable Priory,—'locus autem ille prope Houghton, ubi Watling et Ickneld duae stratae regiae conveniunt, extitit undique nemorosus et latronibus sic repletus, ut vix possit ibi legalis pertransire quin per eosdem necaretur, aut membra vel catalla perderet; dictus autem dominus rex (Hen. I.), ad hujusmodi malitiam refraenandam locum illum circumquaque jusserat assartari,' &c.[1] Dugdale has not given us the date of his 'ancient parchment,' but he would hardly have so designated it, if it had been of later date than the fourteenth century, and to this century in all probability it belonged. In the year 1476 was written a certain 'letter testimonial,' in which the inhabitants of several Bedfordshire parishes 'witnesse that ther is oon crosse standynge in the feld of Toternho, the whiche crosse standeth in Ikeneld Strete to the whiche crosse the waye ledynge from Spilmanstroste directly streacheth,' &c.[2] In the fifteenth century, therefore, the trackway we are treating of must have been generally known as the Icknield Street by the people who lived immediately to the north of Dunstable. In the time of Charles II. the same trackway was known in Oxfordshire by the names of Icknil, Acknil, Hackney, or Hackington Way[3]. Icknil and Acknil Way are evidently corruptions of Icknield Way, and Hackney Way appears to be a mere modification of Acknil Way, arising from an attempt to give significance to a word otherwise unmeaning. The term 'Hackington Way' does not admit of

[1] Monasticon, 6. 239.
[2] Chron. de Dunstaple, vol. 2, p. 702.
[3] Plot's Oxfordshire, 10, 22.

so easy an explanation, and the investigation of its meaning will require at our hands very careful consideration.

The name of the highway is written in our Anglo-Saxon charters, Icenhilde weg, or Icenilde weg; but the latter mode of spelling the word is found only in late or ill-written charters. The meaning of Icenhilde weg is tolerably obvious. *Hild*, war, battle, forms in its genitive case *hilde*, and this genitive case enters freely into composition: thus *rinc* is a man, *hilde-rinc*, a warrior; *leoth*, a song, *hilde-leoth*, a war-song; *bil*, a bill, *hilde-bil*, a battle-axe; &c. According to the analogy of these compounds, we obtain from *weg*, a way, *hilde-weg*, a way fitted for military expeditions—a highway; and *Icen hilde-weg* would be the Highway of the Icen, or Iceni, the people into whose country this trackway directly led. I have written the words *Icen hilde-weg* so as to suit the requirements of our modern orthography, but in an Anglo-Saxon manuscript I should expect to find the orthography *Icenhilde weg*, precisely as the words are written in our charters. I have elsewhere called the attention of scholars to this peculiarity in the orthography of our Anglo-Saxon manuscripts.

The Icknield Street proceeds from Icklingham, in Suffolk, to Ickleton, and then crossing 'the Branditch' between Haydon and Foulmire, proceeds to Ickleford. These names, Icklingham, Ickleton, and Ickleford, are in all probability corruptions of Iceningham, Icenton, and Icenford—Icening being formed from Icen, by the addition of the gentile termination *ing*. Icenford may indicate a ford which was merely used by the Icen in their journeys westwards; but Icenton, the town or homestead of the Icen, must indicate a place where that people *dwelt*, and we may infer that it lay near the borders of some other tribe, for the name would otherwise be wanting in significance. There is good reason to believe, that the Branditch was the western *limes* of the Iceni, and Ickleton the first inhabited place within their borders, which was reached by the traveller in his progress eastward along the Icknield Street. Icening-

ham, the ham, or dwelling of the Icenings, was beyond any reasonable doubt the capital of that people. Traces of its importance as a British station are still sufficiently obvious.

Hence we may understand how it came to pass that the name of Icenton or Ickleton so often occurs along the course of the Icknield Street. This village was to the traveller along the Icknield Street what Berwick was to the Scotchman in his visit to England before railways were invented; and we need not feel surprise when we find the Icknield Street called the Hackington-way in Oxfordshire, the Ickleton-way, or the Ickleton-meer [1] in Berkshire, or the Aggleton Road in Dorset [2]. We must not suppose that the antiquaries who handed down to us the information, or the peasants from whom they derived it, were aware of the real meaning or origin of these terms. The names were no doubt kept afloat in local tradition ages after the obscure Cambridgeshire village, that gave rise to them, was forgotten.

A curious, but extremely rude map, which professes to represent the courses of the Four Roads, is referred to by Gale. It is found in one of the Cotton Manuscripts [3] which my friend Mr. Watts [4] informs me is of the thirteenth century, and it carries the Icknield Street from Bury St. Edmunds to Salisbury. As Bury lies on the same river as Icklingham, and in some sense may be considered as the modern representative of the British town, there was no very great mistake in making it one of the two termini. If Salisbury, that is Old Sarum, were the other terminus, the Icknield way most probably ran into the Ridgeway before the latter reached Avebury, and then proceeded with it across the Avon-valley to its destination, in the track which has

[1] Wise's Ant. of Berkshire, p. 43. [2] Gale's Essay, p. 139.

[3] Nero, B. I.

[4] He also informs me that the account which Gale gives of the blunders in the manuscript has no foundation in fact. The blunders are really due to Gale himself, or the person he employed to copy, and not to the writer of the manuscript.

been described by Sir R. C. Hoare, in his Descr. of North Wiltshire, p. 45.

It is, however, a matter of the greatest difficulty to define the portion of this old trackway which in the eleventh century was protected by the King's Peace. The Roman Road running from Old Sarum to Badbury, is called Ackling Ditch, and west of the Stour are the remains of an old thoroughfare which the peasantry still point out as a continuation of the Icknield Street, and whose name of Aggleton Road occasioned Gale so much perplexity. Stukeley again describes the Icknield way as bifurcating south of Thames—one of the branches running towards Avebury, and the other in a direction towards Silchester; and I am told by my friend Mr. Gunner, that he has seen a charter (t. H. 6) which describes an estate near Andover as bounded on the north by the Icknield Way[1]. No one can suppose that in the Laws of the Confessor *two* lines of road were referred to under the name of Hikenilde Strete, and as it is certain that in the tenth and eleventh centuries the name of Icenhilde Street was given to the road which led to Avebury, we must conclude it was applied to the road leading towards Silchester *by mistake*, when in a later age such road became the ordinary thoroughfare from the East to Salisbury. We have already noticed similar misapplications of the name of Watling Street.

Traces of an ancient causey may still be found alongside the turnpike-road which leads from London to Royston. On reaching the chalk-downs above the latter place, the traveller sees the straight white road descending into the Fens, which stretch away to the North as far as the eye can reach. Some two or three miles from the foot of the Downs the road crosses a branch of the Cam at a place called Arrington Bridge. This bridge is generally supposed to be

[1] It was probably one of the deeds referred to by Richard Willis in his very unsatisfactory paper on the Icknield Way. 'In old deeds of lands in Andover bordering on this street, it is called the Hicknel or Hecknal Way.' Arch. 8, p 94.

built on the old ford, which gave name to the Hundred—Ermingford Hundred. The village lies about a mile from the bridge, and a circle round it of three or four miles radius would include some of the richest pastures in the county. In Domesday Book Arrington is written Erningtune, and Ermingford Hundred Erningford Hundred, just as we have seen that Huntingdon and Higden wrote Erning Street for Erming Street. It is obvious, that less action of the organs is required[1] in pronouncing Erning than Erming, and the greater facility of pronunciation, no doubt, gave rise to the corruption. Facility would be still further promoted by dropping the *n*, and hence at a later period Ernington was changed into Arrington. There can be little doubt that Arrington represents the Earmingtone which Bishop Theodred mentions in his will[2], together with other estates in Cambridgeshire and the adjoining counties. Some place, also, in the neighbourhood of this village must represent the Earmingaford which Edgar gave[3], and the Erningford which the Confessor confirmed[4] to the monks of Ely. The names of the villages which accompany the mention of these places in the two charters, such as Shelford, Triplow, Melbourne, &c., leave us little room for doubt either as to the identity of the places, or as to their locality.

In his account of Huntingdonshire, Camden tells us that the present North road near Stilton was called Erming Street in an ancient Saxon charter; and in his account of Cambridgeshire he quotes the 'Hist. Eliensis' as his authority for giving that name to a part of the same road in the latter county. Other writers, and among them Bentham in his history of Ely Cathedral, quote the 'Hist. Eliensis' to the same effect. I have, however, glanced through this work without finding the passage referred to; and consequently the earliest authority I can cite for giving the name of Erming Street to this particular line of road is

[1] This is seen most clearly when the *r* is pronounced *distinctly*.

[2] C. D., No. 957. [3] C. D., No. 97. [4] C. D., No. 907.

the passage from Huntingdon, which has been already quoted[1].

The name of Earmingaford, which has come down to us in its Anglo-Saxon integrity, suggests that the earliest name of the Street was Earminga Straet, the street of the Earmings —Earminga being the genitive case plural of Earming[2]. The question then naturally arises, who were these Earmings?

Jacob Grimm[3] has speculated on the etymology of Erming Street. He speaks doubtfully of its connexion with Arminius and the Irmen-sul, and seems to prefer the derivation *Earminga stræt*, the street of the poor men, on the perfectly gratuitous supposition, that it was much frequented by pilgrims. It cannot surely require much ingenuity to suggest a more plausible hypothesis.

Bede calls the men of Cambridgeshire the Southern Girvii[4]. Girvii is clearly connected with the Anglo-Saxon *Gyrwe*, a fen, which is represented in the Icelandic by *eörfi*, mire, fen. Haldorsen, in noticing this latter word, informs us that the Norwegians call bog-earth *eörme*, 'per notissimam metathesin *m.* pro *f.*' Now Cambridgeshire was the very centre of the Danish settlements in this part of England during the ninth century. At the close of that century the Northmen had burghs at Cambridge, at Huntingdon, and at Bedford; and the whole of Norfolk and

[1] Salmon in his 'New Survey,' &c., tells us that 'in the buttings and boundings of lands in Therfield (near Royston) some are said to be near the Ermine Street'; and also that 'a Roman way near Stamford is in the writings of the Monks called Ermine Street,' &c. I presume these 'writings of the monks' are the same as 'the writings of Peterborough Abbey,' which, according to Horsley, 'mention Hermen Street.' It were to be wished these writers had been more particular in citing their authorities.

[2] The full significance of *Erminga Straet* would no doubt be conveyed by the compound Earming-Straet, but not with the same degree of precision; just as Aldermanbury, though synonymous with, yet expresses its meaning less clearly than, Aldermansbury. It is probable, however, that Watling Street and Erming Street are not the representatives of such Anglo-Saxon compounds, but corruptions of the Anglo-Saxon phrases Waetlinga Straet and Earminga Straet.

[3] Deutsche Mythologie, 213.

[4] Hist. Eccl., 4. 19.

Suffolk was in their hands. We can understand, therefore, how the Norse phrase *eörme* came to be naturalized in Cambridgeshire, and the men of that shire to be called Earmings, i. e. the men of the *Earm*, or fen-land. We find this word in other parts of the island, and sometimes in close proximity with the corresponding Anglo-Saxon word. Jarrow, the monastery where Bede lived, is called by Simeon of Durham 'æt Gyrwum'—at the fens; and it evidently took its name from 'the Slake,' a low marshy tract which is overflowed by the Tyne at high-water, and on the borders of which it stands. Now, close to the southern boundary of Bede's county, in a low peninsula almost surrounded by the Tees, stands the town of Yarm, which has more than once been nearly swept away by the river during floods. There cannot be much doubt that the name of Yarm is the Norwegian term *eörme*. Such places were often selected by the Northmen for their burghs, and Yarm may probably have been the site of one of these fortresses.

The name of Earminga straet, the street of the Earmings or fenmen, must have been first given to that portion of the road which bordered on the fens, and then gradually applied to the whole line of road which was protected by the King's Peace; we may conclude with tolerable confidence that this protection extended from London to Lincoln. If the Erming Street passed beyond Lincoln, it probably crossed the Foss[1] and ran into Yorkshire.

In noticing the Erming Street, Grimm also gives us his notions on the etymology of Watling Street. As in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the Milky Way was called Watling Street[2], he seems inclined to look upon the Waet-

[1] The Ordnance Maps assign the name of Erming Street both to the road that leads from Lincoln to the Humber, and also to that which crosses the Trent; and they recognize a third Erming Street in Geoffrey's Road from Gloucester to Winchester. They have also no fewer than three Icknield Streets. Two or three Fosses, or two or three Watling Streets, might have admitted of explanation; but as Erming Street and Icknield Street are not generic, but distinctive names, these triplicities are peculiarly unfortunate.

[2] The well-frequented thoroughfare which crossed the island, would present

lings as one of 'the Mythical Races.' He afterwards suggests *waðol*, 'wandering,' as the root of the word, and that the Watling Street was called the Wanderers' Way, as the Erming Street the Poor man's Way, because it was much used by pilgrims. There is, however, no reason for believing that the Erming and the Watling Streets were more frequented by pilgrims than any other highway in the island—than the Foss and the Icknield way, for example.

These vague and misty speculations seem to have met with but little favour at the hands of our countrymen [1]. I believe the great body of English antiquaries still entertain the opinion of Stukeley, according to which Watling Street meant the Irishmen's road—a meaning which everyone will admit to be at least an appropriate one. Stukeley knew nothing of Anglo-Saxon, and if he had been asked to support his etymology on philological grounds, would no doubt have been at fault. But it must, in candour, be admitted that there is no real philological objection to his hypothesis. The Welsh call the Irishmen *Gwyddel*; and this term, supposing it to have been adopted by our ancestors, might well have taken the form of *waetel* in Anglo-Saxon. Adding the gentile termination *ing*, we get the derivative *waetling*, and Waetlinga Straet, the term which is met with in our Anglo-Saxon charters, would be the street of the Waetlings or Irishmen—Waetlinga being the genitive case plural of Waetling.

But the objections to this derivation on other grounds appear to be unanswerable. There are several Watling

an obvious analogy with the great arch crowded with stars that stretched across the heavens.

[1] Mr. Thorpe refers to them, but only as 'conjectures' (Laws and I. of Engl. Gloss. *Erming Street*). Mr. T. Wright, however, adopts them without hesitation and without acknowledgment. 'Of these four roads one only, the Waetlinga Straet, is mentioned in purely Anglo-Saxon writings, and on the name of that there can be no doubt, or of its mythic character. The name of another is equally mythic, which is written in the printed text *Erminga Strete*, and has been corrupted in more modern times into Erming Street.' C. R. Smith, Inventorium Sepulchrale, l. i. c. vii.

Streets in Britain. One of them runs through Delamere Forest in Cheshire; another through the woodland districts of the West-Riding, the Elmet Forest of Bede; a third through Northumberland and Roxburghshire towards Ettrick Forest; and lastly the Erming Street in the neighbourhood of Rockingham Forest has been called Watling Street both by Leland[1] and by others[2]. No one, it is presumed, will maintain that all these roads took their name from the Irishmen that travelled along them. Again, Verulam, through which the Watling Street passes, is called by Bede[3], and also in a certain Anglo-Saxon charter[4], Vaetlinga caestir, the city of the Waetlings; whence it appears that the people who gave this name to the road also gave it to the Roman city, and it is equally clear this people were not Irishmen. Who then were these mysterious Waetlings?

The answer, I believe, lies on the surface. The Welsh term *Gwyddel* was applied not only to the Irish but also to the wild men who lived in the Weald as contradistinguished from the husbandmen who cultivated the plain[5]. Now the woodlands through which the Watling Street ran for some 30 or 40 miles after leaving London were during the middle ages notorious for the banditti that infested them. Matthew Paris tells us that Leofstan, Abbot of St. Alban's in the eleventh century, cut down all the trees within a certain distance of the highway to enable the traveller the better to provide against the robbers that lay in wait for him; and we have seen that Henry the First founded the town and priory of Dunstable as a further protection against their outrages. These broken and desperate men must

[1] 'Ancaster standeth in Wateling Street,' &c. Lel. i. 30. Elsewhere he calls this road Hermen Street. Lel. Itin. i. 82.

[2] 'The continuation of the street from Stilton is there named Forty-foot Road, from its breadth, and in some maps Watling Street, which must be a great error,' &c. Gale's Essay, p. 124.

[3] Hist. Eccl. i. vii.

[4] Cod. Dipl. No. 696.

[5] Owen Pughe's Dict. *Gwyddel*.

have been the Watlings that gave their name to the Watling Street; and it was no doubt owing to their harbouring themselves in the vaults and amid the ruins of the old Roman town[1] that the latter obtained its name of Watling-chester. It is well known that many other forest-tracts were infested with bands of outlaws, and we need feel little surprise when we find Watling Streets in the neighbourhood of the several forests of Delamere, Elmet, Ettrick, and Rockingham. Gale charged those, who converted a portion of the Erming Street into a Watling Street[2], with committing 'a great error;' but the error really lay at the door of the critic, and not of the topographer.

The name of *Foss* has given rise to some very strange hypotheses. It has been supposed that the road was so called, because it was one of the hollow ways which marked out the lines of ancient British traffic; but, in truth, the Roman character of the Foss is perhaps more decided than that of any other highway in the island. It has been conjectured by others, that the road was left incomplete by the Romans, and certain portions of it in the north of Warwickshire have been pointed out as exhibiting a *fossa* merely, without any *dorsum* or ridge. But every one who has travelled along a Roman road knows that it often exhibits the appearance of a ditch—and sometimes for very long distances—owing to the abstraction of the gravel, &c., for the purposes of the neighbourhood. I suspect the origin of the name does not lie quite so near the surface as these antiquaries have imagined.

Roman writers upon agriculture give the name of *fossa* not merely to the open, but also to the covered drain. One was called the *fossa caeca*, and the other the *fossa patens*. Now in making a causey, the first thing the Romans did was to remove the surface soil, or, in other words, to

[1] In like manner, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the deserted stations along the Wall afforded harbourage to the border-thieves of Northumberland.

[2] Vide p. 235, note 2.

make a *fossa* to receive the gravel, and other hard materials—

> alto
> Egestu penitus cavare terras
> Mox haustas aliter replere fossas.

As the *fossa*, which served for a covered drain, retained the name when filled with stones and brushwood and covered in with soil, so I believe the road-maker's *fossa* kept its name, even when it appeared as a finished causey. I cannot quote any ancient authority which distinctly favours this conclusion; but *fossatum*, which by the later Latinists was used as a synonym of *fossa*, was commonly employed in our charters to denote a causey, from the eleventh to the fifteenth century. The great Roman road which we call the Foss, appears to have been termed the *fossa κατ' ἐξοχήν—the* Causey.

It may be said, that if the British provincials used the term *fossa* as a general name for a causey, we might expect to find more than one instance of the word in our English topography. In fact, the county of Dorset does furnish us with a second instance of its use. We read in Gale's Essay, 'Speed places Dorchester on the Fosse, and upon inquiry, I find that there is a large raised causeway which runs directly from that town, ten miles together, to a place called Egerton Hill, where the remains of a Roman camp are to be seen, called by that name.' The accuracy of Gale's information on this subject has been sometimes questioned, but it has been confirmed from other sources, and is sufficient warrant for our giving the name of foss to the road in question. The scepticism, however, of those who doubted on this matter, was not altogether unreasonable. The Dorsetshire foss was most certainly no part of the highway to which we have hitherto given the name, and of which certain antiquaries considered it to be the continuation.

Before I conclude this paper, I would add a few words with respect to the time when, and the circumstances under which the Four Roads were constructed. The Watling

Street and the Foss were no doubt throughout their whole course Roman causeys, and there can be little doubt that in the twelfth century these magnificent works existed in nearly their original state. I know not from whence Huntingdon and Geoffrey could have taken their description of these roads, unless it was from personal observation. They have now almost disappeared from the surface of the island. The work of destruction has no doubt been going on for centuries, but it is the road-contractors of the last century to whom the state of dilapidation, in which we now find these monuments, is chiefly owing.

That portion of the Erming Street which lies between London and Huntingdon was not, I believe, of Roman construction. A great Roman road leaves unmistakeable evidence behind it that it once existed, in the remains of Roman stations, of Roman villas, and of Roman burial-grounds; and none of these remains have yet been found along that portion of the Erming Street which lies south of the Fens. But a still stronger argument against the Roman origin of the Erming Street south of Huntingdon, is furnished by the Iters of Antoninus. Three of the Iters pass from London to Lincoln; and of these, two run down the Watling Street to the Foss, and then up the Foss to Lincoln, while the third Iter proceeds to Colchester and then to Lincoln by way of Cambridge and Huntingdon. I cannot believe we should have had any one of these three iters, if a paved road had then existed leading directly from London to Lincoln.

The Erming Street, however, must certainly date from a very remote antiquity. It must have existed in the days of Edgar, and perhaps as early as the times of Offa. We have ample proof that, in the Anglo-Saxon period, Hertfordshire was a well-peopled district, and consequently that its woodlands, which appear to have been the great impediment to Roman road-making, must in great measure have disappeared before the labours of the husbandman.

The Icknield Street has been generally, and I believe

rightly, considered as a mere British trackway. I have looked for traces of an artificial road along its course, but have not found them. The word *street* must not mislead us, for it was certainly used, at least in the south of England, with great laxity of meaning. In our charters the road is generally styled a way—*Icenhilde weg*,—though in one charter it is called a street[1]. It may possibly have been gravelled and paved for short distances, to meet the requirements of particular localities.

The Bishop of Cloyne's description of the Icknield street some fifty years ago, will give the reader on the whole a not unfair notion of its general appearance even at the present day. He tells us it enters Cambridgeshire 'near Newmarket, and keeping by the hilly grounds to the east of the present turnpike-road, bears directly for Ickleton, &c. It goes through Ickleton and by Ickleton Grange over Fulmere field to Royston, where it crosses the Ermine Street, and keeps straight by the chalky hills to Baldock and Dunstaple. In some parts of the line here described, especially over Fulmere field, from frequent ploughings and the confusion occasioned by numerous field roads it is not easy to follow it, but in much of its way over the heath near Newmarket, on the hill south-west of Ickleton and on the downs to the east and west of Royston, the marks of its course are so evident as to leave no doubt that a road of considerable antiquity and importance must have proceeded in that direction[2].'

[1] C. D. No. 1129.

[2] Lysons' Cambridgeshire, p. 44. I quote Bishop Bennett's testimony to the course of the Icknield Street in this particular district, as an answer to some novel views which have been lately published on the subject, though I believe no difference of opinion exists, or ever did exist, among well-informed antiquaries as to the matter in question.

In his recent work, entitled the 'Inventorium Sepulchrale,' Mr. Roach Smith has inserted an essay written by his friend Mr. Thomas Wright, which treats *inter alia* of the Four Roads. In the map prefixed to the Essay, Mr. Wright carries the Icknield Street to Cambridge. Not a single argument is adduced to justify this departure from received opinion; and when we find Mr. Wright carrying the Erming Street also to Cambridge, and the Watling Street to Shrewsbury; when we find him asserting that this name of *Watling Street* was

I know no part of England—and I am well-acquainted with its by-ways—where so much of genuine legend still lingers among the peasantry as along the course of the Icknield street. Plot represents the road as almost deserted even in his day, yet your guide will talk of the long-lines of pack-horses that once frequented the 'Ickley way,' as if they were things of yesterday; and a farmer in the Vale of Aylesbury told me, as he was pointing out the course of the Icknield Street along the sides of the Chiltern, that in the popish times they used to go on pilgrimage along it from Oxford to Cambridge. The story admits of an easy explanation. The Icknield way was no doubt the great road for pilgrimages from the west of England to the 'Martyr's shrine' at Bury, and as it passed some ten miles south of Oxford, and about the same distance south of Cambridge, these familiar names were seized upon in order to give shape and locality to the story.

There is something in the deserted aspect of this old trackway which is very fascinating to the antiquary; while the boundless views which, throughout its whole course, open to the west and north, and its long stretches of springy turf-land, which even the agricultural changes of the last ten years have not wholly obliterated, are accompaniments that will no doubt be more generally appreciated. The absence of ancient towns along its course has been often noticed. At three points, indeed, where it is crossed by ancient roads, we find Royston, Baldock, and Dunstable, but of these the first and last date only from the twelfth century. The want of Roman remains, however, is amply compensated for by the many objects, mostly of British antiquity, which crowd upon us as we journey westward—by the tumuli and the 'camps,' which show themselves on our right hand and on our left—by the six gigantic earth-

the only one of the four known to the Anglo-Saxon, and that the term *Fosse* is 'undoubtedly' of Anglo-Norman origin, the reader will probably agree with me in the conclusion, that any further notice of Mr. Wright's speculations on these subjects is uncalled for.

works which, in the interval of eighty miles, between the borders of Suffolk and the Thames, were raised at widely distant periods to bar progress along this now deserted thoroughfare—by the White Cross which rises over the Vale of Aylesbury, and the still more ancient White Horse that looks down upon the Vale of Wantage. When it is remembered that in its probable course westward, the Icknield Street passes by 'Wayland's Smithy,' and the mysterious Avebury, and that it crosses the Wansdyke in its progress towards Stonehenge and Old Sarum, it will be conceded, that no line of country of the same extent in Britain, can show objects of greater interest to the antiquary and—why may we not add the more dignified name?—to the historian.

THE WELSH AND ENGLISH BOUNDARIES.

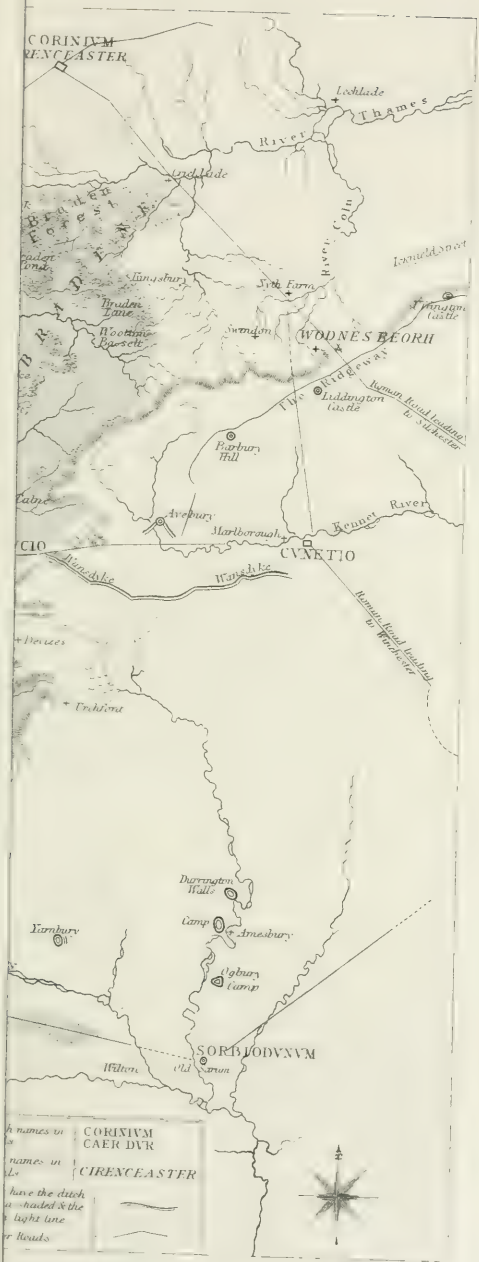
[This paper contains the materials of the discourses delivered at the meetings of the Archaeological Institute at Bristol in 1851, and at Bath in 1858. It is reprinted from the *Archaeologia Cambrensis* for 1861.]

On the Boundaries that separated the Welsh and English races during the seventy-five years which followed the capture of Bath, A.D. 577; with speculations as to the Welsh princes, who during that period were reigning over Somersetshire.

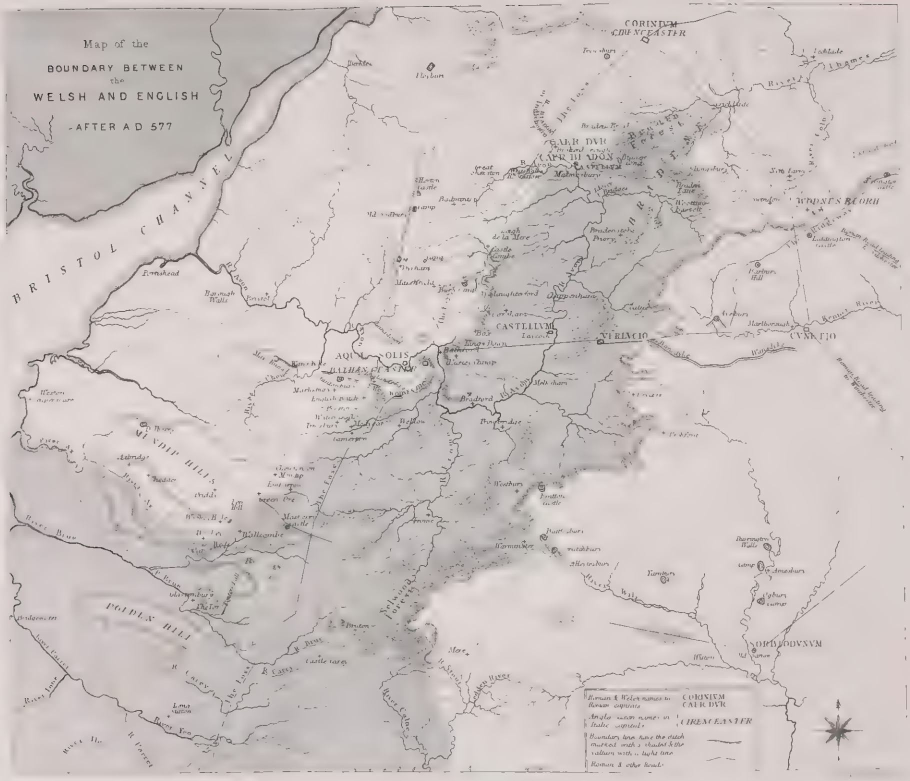
SOME years back I laid before the Institute[1] certain opinions I had been led to form, with reference to the districts respectively occupied by the Welsh and English races subsequently to the Treaty of the Mons Badonicus. I would now call attention to the boundaries that separated the two races at another important epoch of our history, I mean after the settlement which necessarily followed the battle fought at Deorham, A.D. 577. This battle was one of those events which change the fortunes of a people. It led, as we learn from the Chronicle, to the surrender of the three great cities of Gloucester, Cirencester, and Bath; and must have left our ancestors in quiet possession of the whole basin of the Severn—at least, on this side of the river—from the walls of Bath to the woodlands of Arden. The Welshmen living south of Bath seem to have come early into an arrangement with the conquerors, but we know that these restless soldiers were carrying on their desolating inroads in other directions for several years afterwards. The following entry refers to one of these inroads.

'A. 584. Now Ceawlin and Cutha fought with the Brits at the place that is called Fethanleah, and there Cutha was slain, and Ceawlin took many towns and countless booty and angry (yrre) he returned to his own country.'

[1] Vide 'The Early English Settlements in South Britain.' Salisbury Volume, Arch. Institute, p. 28. [Above, pp. 147–199.]



CORINIVM
Lechlade
Thames
River
River Coln
Kingsbury
Bruden Lane
Wootton Basset
Swindon
WODNES BEORH
The Ridgeway
Liddington Castle
Barbury Hill
Avebury
Marlborough
Kennet River
CVNETIO
Wansdyke
Devizes
Urchfont
Durrington Walls
Camp
Amesbury
Yarnbury
Ogbury Camp
SORBIODVNVM
Wilton
Old Sarum
CORINIVM
CAER DVR
CIRENCEASTER


Map of the
BOUNDARY BETWEEN
the
WELSH AND ENGLISH
AFTER A D 577
BRISTOL CHANNEL
CORINIVM
CIRENCEASTER
CAER DVR
CASTELLVM
VERLVCIO
CVNETIO
AQVAE SOLIS
MENDIP HILLS
POLDEN HILL
SORBIODVNVM
Selwood Forest
Bristol
Portishead
Bradford
Chippenham
Malmesbury
Marlborough
Warminster
Westbury
Amesbury
Bruton
Lacock
Melksham
Frome
Wells
Castle Combe
Castle Cary
River Brue
River Yeo
River Parret
R. Avon
River Kennet
Thames
Lechlade
Roman & Welsh names in Roman capitals
CORINIVM
CAER DVR
Anglo Saxon names in Italic capitals
CIRENCEASTER
Roman & other Roads

The Chronicle does not disclose to us any ground for Ceawlin's anger, and I can only account for the existence of such a feeling on the supposition that he considered the check he received at Fethanleah to be owing to some misconduct on the part of his own officers. This hypothesis may help us to an explanation of the following entries:

'A. 590. Now Ceol reigned 5 years.'

'A. 591. Now was there great slaughter at Wodnes beorh and Ceawlin was driven out.'

From Malmesbury we learn that on this occasion both Englishmen and Britons conspired against him; Gesta Regum, 1, 2; and from the Appendix to Florence we further learn, that among the rebels was his own nephew Ceol, whom two years previously he had made his viceroy—probably over the newly-conquered districts of the Severn valley. The disaffection which Ceawlin's harshness had left behind him in that neighbourhood may have furnished the inducement which tempted the nephew to rebel against his benefactor: we are expressly told 'immerito rebellavit.'

As Ceawlin's defeat is an incident of some importance in this inquiry, it will not be amiss to dwell awhile on the circumstances that attended it.

Wodnes beorh was not merely celebrated as the scene of Ceawlin's defeat. In the long struggle for supremacy between Wessex and Mercia, after the latter had advanced its frontiers to Cirencester, it was always at Wodensburgh that the kings of Wessex stood on their defence. Yet the situation of this important post has not yet been determined. According to Sir R. C. Hoare, it was at Woodborough, south of the Wansdyke, though he also tells us that there is a place called Wanborough[1]; according to a suggestion of the editors of the Mon. Hist. Brit.[2], it may have been at 'Wemborow?'—a place I am unacquainted with; according to Mr. Thorpe, the place is undetermined[3];

[1] North Wilts, p. 16 n.
[2] Mon. Hist. Brit. p. 305.
[3] Flor. Wig. Chron. 9. Hist. Society's Series.

while Lappenberg[1] thinks there may have been a temple of Woden at Wodensburgh, and that it was with special reference to such temple that the kings of Wessex took post there. As there is so much in our early history which must ever remain uncertain, we ought not to leave unsettled any question that really admits of settlement. The place is beyond all question Wanborough, near Swindon.

I have observed elsewhere that names of places which, in the Anglo-Saxon times, took what may be termed the genitival form, not unfrequently appear as simple compounds a few centuries later. Thus in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, I should expect to find, instead of Wodens burgh the simple compound *Woden-burgh*[2]; and Wanborough would be the modern corruption of *Woden-burgh*, just as Wansdyke is the modern corruption of Wodens dyke[3], and Wensday (the ordinary pronunciation of Wednesday) is the modern corruption of Woden's day. Here, then, we have identity of *name*, and that it indicates identity of *place* will hardly be doubted by any one who casts his eye over the map, and sees all the great highways of Wessex converging to a point in the neighbourhood of this village. When posted at Wanborough, the king of Wessex had Roman roads whereby to communicate with Winchester and Old Sarum, the capitals of his two principal shires,

[1] Lapp. Hist. of Engl., Thorpe's Transl. i. 263.

[2] Aubrey, in his Mon. Brit., actually calls Wanborough by this name.

[3] I have ever considered this word as exhibiting the true etymology of Wansdyke. Vide Salisbury Vol. Arch. Institute, p. 28 n.; above, p. 148. From some expressions that occur in Mr. Scarth's paper on 'The Course of the Wansdyke,' Som. Arch. J. vol. vii. part 2, p. 16, a hasty reader might be led to infer, that I adopted Stukeley's etymology, which every Saxon scholar must repudiate.

It is a speculation of Grimm, in which he is followed by Kemble, Sax. in Engl. i. 52 and 343, that Woden, like Mercurius, was the God of boundaries. The Latin Mercurius, the Greek Hermes, and his prototype the Saramaya of the Sanscrit hymns were all of them supposed to have the superintendence of boundaries, and as they all three presided over the planet Mercury, with which our own Woden was connected, it is a reasonable conjecture, that Woden is the English representative of these divinities, and as such partook of their attributes. This hypothesis will account for the names both of Wanborough and of Wansdyke.

while another Roman road came to him from Silchester through the heart of Berkshire, and the Icknield Street brought him the men of the Chiltern, and adjacent parts of Oxfordshire. It was neither to protect nor to be protected by any Temple of Woden, that he took post at Woden's burgh. A military necessity fixed him there; it was the key of Wessex.

At Wanborough, then—as it were on the threshold of his house—Ceawlin prepared for the final struggle. After a reign of more than thirty years, and conquests such as no other English king could boast of, he had to meet revolted subjects in alliance with the people he had so often vanquished. The English settlers of the Severn valley, with their Welsh confederates, must have advanced, like the Mercians at a later period, along the Roman road leading from Cirencester; and, after one of the fiercest and bloodiest battles recorded in our annals, Ceawlin was defeated. Two years afterwards he died in exile.

After such a defeat, Wessex must have been long in a state of weakness and prostration, but it had recovered its former power when, A.D. 643, Cenwalh became its king. His repudiation of his wife, the sister of Penda King of Mercia, the invasion of Wessex by that monarch, the expulsion of Cenwalh, his conversion to Christianity during his exile, and his return to his kingdom by the aid of his kinsman Cuthred, are matters of history, and need not here detain us. It was four years after his return from exile, and in the ninth year of his reign, that he began the career of conquest which brings him into connexion with our present subject.

From Malmesbury we gather that after the expulsion of Cenwalh, the Britons, emboldened it would seem by the opportunity, and ill brooking the condition to which they had been reduced, made attempts to throw off the supremacy of Wessex[1]. The steps by which Cenwalh re-asserted English dominion, and effected the final subjugation of the

[1] Gesta Regum, i. 2.

Britons in the north of Somersetshire, are recorded in the following entries of the Chronicle.

'A. 652. Now Cenwalh fought at Bradan ford (Bradford) by Avon.

'A. 658. Now Cenwalh fought against the Weals at the Pens (aet Peonnum), and drove them to the Pedride (Parret).'

It will be seen that the Chronicle does not mention the enemy with whom Cenwalh fought at Bradford. But we know of no enemy he was engaged with after his return from exile but the Welsh, and it would be difficult to say what other adversary he could encounter in that locality[1]. The battle 'at the Pens' must have made the whole of Somersetshire north of Selwood English ground, and the Welsh, who up to the period when Cenwalh began his conquests, had been living in the neighbourhood of Bath, must either have retired southwards, or been absorbed in the English population which followed the tide of conquest. We have to inquire what were the boundaries which separated the Welshmen of this district from their English neighbours during the interval that elapsed between the conquests of Ceawlin and these later conquests of his successor Cenwalh.

It was for a long time, and I believe it still is[2], the prevalent opinion among our antiquaries, that the Wansdyke was the southern boundary of Ceawlin's conquests.

[1] There would not be room for doubt on the subject, but for the expression of Ethelwerd, 'bellum gessit civile.' Little weight, however, is due to the statements of this writer at any time; and his ignorance is more than usually conspicuous in this part of his narrative. He actually mistook the name of the place where the second battle was fought for that of an English king—'Cenualh et *Peonna* reges bella restaurant Britannos adversus.'

[2] The latest notice of the subject I have met with, is contained in a paper written by the Rev. F. Warre, a gentleman who has made the earthworks of the West of England his particular study. He thinks Ceawlin 'probably extended his conquest to the coast of the Bristol Channel, somewhere between Portishead and Weston-super-mare.' Som. Arch. Jour. 1856 and 1857, part 2, p. 50. At some point of the coast between these two places, the Wansdyke, according to the generally received opinion, terminated its course.

The doubts I had long entertained as to the correctness of this opinion were strengthened on reading the account of the survey of the Wansdyke which Sir R. C. Hoare has given us in his work on North Wiltshire. After tracing the dyke over certain meadows to Englishcombe Church, he tells us, 'In the two uppermost of these fields, called farther and hither home grounds (Cattle) the ridge is very grand and perfect. At the head of the latter of these grounds I observed another bank and ditch steering towards Wansdyke from the south-west.'—North Wilts, p. 25. I took the earliest opportunity that offered itself, after reading this passage, of examining the bank and ditch referred to, and found them extending the whole length of the hither home ground, alongside of, and merely separated by a hedge from, the lane leading thence to English-batch. The vallum was some four feet high, and the ditch was *to the westward*. On leaving the hither home ground the dyke[1] crossed the lane and entering a ploughed field was lost. I followed its direction in the hope of finding some other portion of it; but the season was an unfavourable one, the trees being in full leaf[2], and it was not till I reached Wallsmead some six miles south of Bath, that I recovered any traces of the object I was in search of. Eastward of the homestead of this name a stretch of meadow sweeps over a small combe, and then rises to the ridge overlooking the great valley in which lie Medyat and Camerton. Here, just where I had expected to find it, on the very line of

[1] The Anglo-Saxon term *dic* was used both as a masculine and as a feminine substantive; and it was a suggestion of Kemble's, that in the former case it might signify the vallum, and in the latter, the foss or ditch. *Dyke* is its modern representative in the north, and *ditch* in the south of England, and our ordinary English employs the first of these words to signify the vallum, and the other the fossa. But in the north *dyke* is used in both these senses, as is *ditch* in our southern counties. A portion of the Fleam-dyke, near Cambridge, is still called 'High Ditch' by the peasantry.

[2] The proper season for these investigations is the winter, or early spring. A wood which, at such a time, might be satisfactorily explored in half-an-hour, would at another season require a day's searching before it yielded up its secrets.

water-shed separating the drainage of the Frome from that of the Avon, I discovered a fragment of the dyke. It was but a fragment, for the grass land narrowed to a point on reaching the ridge, but, though the dyke was on the very verge of the descent into the valley, its ditch was to the westward, and I felt convinced that it formed part of the line of earthwork I had been examining at Englishcombe. A belt of trees that had been planted on it[1], was continued some 300 yards into the ploughed field immediately adjoining it to the northward, and I had little doubt that when the belt was planted, the dyke was for the whole of this distance a conspicuous feature in the landscape, and as such gave name to the adjacent pastures.

My search south of Walls-mead was not very successful, as might perhaps have been expected with so little to guide it; but I examined Wallscombe near Wells with care, and discovered in its neighbourhood, what I believe to be another portion of the dyke. About half a mile west of the picturesque hollow which bears this name of Walls-combe, there is an occupation road leading from Pens-hill farm down to the turnpike road from Wells to Bristol. The lower part of this occupation road passes between high banks covered with gorse. The westward bank is formed by the natural slope of the ground, but that to the eastward is evidently artificial, and might be thought at first sight to consist of mere heaps of mud and filth thrown out of the hollow way beneath it for the convenience of passage. But a careful examination convinced me such was not the case; and when I found a little farther on mounds of earth, in a direction where the dyke might pass, and the road did not, I felt satisfied that I had been examining a portion of

[1] The habit of planting rows of trees along the course of these boundary dykes seems to have been very prevalent during the seventeenth and early part of the eighteenth century. It would have been well if the same respect for antiquity had been exhibited by some of our modern landowners. The wanton destruction of these monuments which has been so general during the last ten or fifteen years is certainly not creditable to those who might have prevented it.

'the wall,' though in a state of much degradation. On Salisbury Plain, Marlborough Downs, the Chiltern, and other districts where the surface of the ground has been little disturbed, we frequently find ancient trackways entering into these boundary ditches and running along them, sometimes for considerable distances. Before the inclosure of Pens-hill, now some seventy or eighty years ago, I believe one of the ancient trackways leading up to it ran along the ditch which accompanied the vallum, and that the present occupation road, in some part at least of its course, coincides with such trackway.

In the neighbourhood of Walls-combe is the mineral district of the Mendip. The high value set on the lead mines of that district in times immediately preceding those we are treating of, is manifest from the pains, which must have been taken, in carrying through an intricate country the Roman road which led to them from Old Sarum. Nothing was more natural than for Ceawlin to insist on the possession of these lead-mines; and, if it were conceded to him, no line of demarcation could be drawn, which would more neatly or more effectually secure his object than the one we have been describing. Lead-mines are now working immediately to the west of this line, but I know of none to the eastward; while the vallum proceeds from Englishcombe towards the coveted mines in a course as direct as the water system of the country would allow with any regard to the mutual convenience of the parties.

That such boundary line did at one time separate the two races, is strongly indicated by the topography of the district. Close to the supposed boundary, and on what has been considered to be the English side of it, are Englishcombe and Englishbatch—and I would ask, whence could these names originate? Certainly not from any proprietor bearing the name of English, for Englishcombe is mentioned in Domesday, which was compiled before surnames were known in England; and the only way in which

I can account for their origin, is by supposing that the places they indicate were inhabited by Englishmen at a time when an alien race were living in the immediate neighbourhood. There is, I think, a fair and reasonable presumption, that by the terms of the settlement between Ceawlin and the Welsh princes, the latter retained possession of the Frome valley, and raised the dyke we have been endeavouring to trace, as the line of demarcation between them and the formidable strangers who had invaded their country.

The name of another locality in this neighbourhood may deserve a passing notice. West of Englishcombe, and at the foot of the strong earthwork now known as Stantonbury, is a village called Merkbury, i.e. the burgh or fortress of the March. Here, or perhaps in the adjacent earthwork, the kings of Wessex may have kept a guard, to watch over the marches and to punish any Welshmen who might cross the dyke to 'lift' the cattle, or other property of their English neighbours.

If we admit the premisses, the boundary line south of Bath is a very obvious one. At Wookey Hole, near Wells, rises the Axe, which is the drain of the marshes lying south of the Mendip, and along this river, from its mouth to its source, the boundary must have run, then along the vallum by Walls-combe and Walls-mead to English-combe, and then along the Wansdyke[1] to the river.

Our knowledge of the boundary north of Bath must be gleaned mainly from a passage to be found in the Eulogium Historiarum. This well-known MS. was written, as the

[1] The Wansdyke seems, like other portions of the boundary line, to have been known at one time as 'the wall.' I learn from my friend Mr. Dickinson, of Kingweston, that the neighbourhood of the house known as 'The Cross Keys,' immediately south of Bath, and situated on the very line of the Wansdyke, is called in certain maps 'the wall-tyning.' The Old English verb *to tyne* signifies to be lost; and 'wall-tyning' must mean the loss or disappearance of the wall. It is probable that in the neighbourhood of this, the main line of approach to the city from the south, the 'wall' was levelled at a very early period, and that the name of 'wall-tyning' originated in this circumstance.

scribe informs us, in the year 1372, and by command of a certain prior. Leland, whose notice of its contents has been the chief means of drawing public attention to it, considered it to be a Malmesbury MS., written by some monk of Malmesbury, at the command of some prior of Malmesbury; and though the opinion has been controverted, I believe it to be in the main a correct one[1]. The following is the account the Eulogium gives us of the foundation of the great monastery which has conferred celebrity on the name of Malmesbury:—

'There was in Ireland (Scotia)[2] a certain monk named Meildulf, who was so harassed by thieves and robbers in his own country that he could hardly live. He, seeing that he could not long remain there, took to flight, and came as far as England. As he was surveying the country and thinking how God would dispose of him, he at last took up his quarters under the Castellum of Bladon, which in the Saxon tongue was called Ingelbourne Castle. This Castellum was built by a certain British king, the eighteenth from Brutus, by name Dunwallo, and by surname Molmuncius, 642 years before the Incarnation. There had formerly been a city there, which was totally destroyed by the foreigners (alienigenis) but the castellum, being a fortified building, maintained itself, and stood there a long time after the Incarnation without having any dwelling near it. The king's residence and the manor belonging to it were, both in the Pagan and in Christian times, at Kairdurburgh, which is now called Brukeburgh, or otherwise Brokenbern (Brokenberh). The hermit aforesaid by name Meildulf selected for himself a hermitage beneath the Castellum, having obtained permission from the men in charge of it, for there was not

[1] Since this question was argued at Bath last summer, it has been elaborately discussed in the edition of the Eulogium lately published by the Treasury Commissioners. The editor has been led to the same conclusions as myself.

[2] Whether we should translate Scotland or Ireland depends on the question whether the writer of the MS. was using the language of his own century, or merely transcribing from an ancient MS., one that might probably date from Anglo-Saxon times.

much resort of people there, and when the necessaries of life began to fail him, he collected round him scholars to teach, that by their liberality he might mend his scanty commons. In a short time, these scholars so learning the rudiments swelled into a small convent.' &c. (c. 92).

From another passage in the Eulogium we learn that besides his work at Malmesbury, Dunwallo built castella at Laycok and Tetraonburgh. Laycok is, of course, Laycock on the Avon, but the locality of Tetraonburgh has not yet been ascertained.

The writer of the Eulogium took his very absurd chronology from Geoffrey, but I think no critical reader will doubt, that the main facts of his story must have been derived mediately or immediately from authorities that were contemporaneous, or nearly so, with the foundation of the monastery. We may, I think, safely infer, that when Meildulf visited the place, he found an English guard posted in a certain castellum, said to have been built by a Welsh prince named Dyvnwal Moelmyd[1]; that the castellum was surrounded by the ruins of Caer Bladon – or, as we now term it, Malmesbury[2] — which still lay waste as the 'alienigeni,' or in other words our ancestors, had left it a century before; and that the king's steward—who, by the by, was an officer of rank and dignity—resided at Caer Dur or Brokenborough[3], and held the surrounding

[1] This name is well known to Welsh legend. The Latinized form Dunwallo Molmutius, was probably first used by Geoffrey. Had the name been Latinized at an earlier period, the first element now represented by *Dyvn*, would no doubt have taken the shape of *Domno*. In adopting the chronology of Geoffrey, the writer of the Eulogium seems also to have adopted his nomenclature.

[2] The old English name for the place was Maildulfsbury, of which Malmesbury is the corruption.

[3] The name of Brokenborough is what may be called 'suggestive.' We readily picture to ourselves the king's steward settled in the Welsh town, brewing his ales, salting his meats, and busily storing up wheat in his granaries, to be provided against the next occasion when his master shall pass down the Foss from Cirencester to Bath; and at the same time we see the breach by which our ancestors first entered Caer Dur still unrepaired, though a Welsh garrison is lying only two miles off in the castellum at Caer Bladon. It is the

district as part of the royal demesne. The brook flowing by Brokenborough seems to have been known to the Welsh as the Bladon[1], and to the English as the 'Ingelbourne[2],' and hence the castellum built at its junction with the Avon was called by the English 'Ingelbourne Castle.' I think we may further gather, that when our ancestors sacked Caer Bladon, A. D. 577, the Welsh still maintained themselves in the castellum, and that as the Brokenborough brook took the name of Ingelbourne, that is, the brook of the Engle, the *other* brook, that is, the Avon, was considered as belonging to the Welsh. Some time must have elapsed before the name of Ingelbourne was generally accepted in the neighbourhood; and as it is stated that Brokenborough was the seat of the Royal Manor during both the Heathen and the Christian periods, there is a fair presumption that the Welsh and English were neighbours to each other at Malmesbury during the whole of the interval that elapsed between the date of Ceawlin's conquest and that of Cenwalh's.

Here, then, we have two fixed points; the one near Bath, where the Wansdyke reached the Avon, and the other at Malmesbury. The question is, how were they connected? Now, at the point where the Wansdyke reached the Avon, there is on the opposite bank a succession of high steep bluffs, Farley Down, King's Down, &c., which, as they trend northwards form the eastern side of the Box-valley. The valley gradually narrows into a ravine, one of those singular rents which characterise the outcrop of the oolite —as it were a natural ditch some two hundred feet deep, and even at the present day one-third filled with forest. Along this valley the boundary must have run to Castle-

old story—that contempt of enemies which has ever been characteristic of our countrymen, and which, if it has often led them to victory, has sometimes entailed upon them very humiliating reverses.

[1] The Welsh name of the river was sometimes used by the Monks of Malmesbury. Vide Cod. Dipl. No. 11.

[2] Vide the boundaries of Brokenborough. C. D. No. 460, vol. iii. p. 447.

combe, where there is reason to believe was once a Roman station, and thence over the open to Malmesbury.

I have not examined the country between Castlecombe and Malmesbury in search of the dyke which no doubt at one time crossed it, for an open country that has been under the plough for a thousand years holds out little encouragement to the explorer. But estates lying in this district are the subject of several charters, and in the description of the boundaries, we find references to a 'vetus fossatum,' to a 'fossatum quod appellatur dych,' &c. If these boundaries were thoroughly investigated, there would, I think, be a fair probability of our lighting upon some fragments of the ancient ditch, which, at the period in question, must have separated the two races.

To the north-east of Malmesbury are to be found the scanty remains of Braden Forest. When disafforested in the time of Charles I, it reached eastward as far as Cricklade; and in the eighth century it seems to have touched in the opposite direction upon Malmesbury, for the historian of that name informs us, that it was the beauty of these woodlands that induced Meildulf to select the place for his residence—'Nemoris amoenitate quod tunc temporis immensum eo loco succreverat captus eremeticam exercuit[1].' From Bradon a line of forest seems to have stretched almost uninterruptedly to Selwood. It must have run nearly parallel to, and in some places immediately beneath, the chalk hills which bound to the westward the bleak upland known as Salisbury Plain. Large masses of natural wood are still to be met with along this line of country, and tracts now denuded of timber still bear names, such as Melksham Forest, Blackmore Forest, Pewsham Forest, &c., which plainly indicate their former character.

On the line of this natural boundary, on the very brow of the hill looking down upon the basin of the Avon, stands the town of Devizes. The etymology of this name has given rise to much absurd speculation, but is not, as

[1] Gesta Pontificum, lib. 5.

it seems to me, very far to seek. The continuator of Florence[1], and William of Newburgh[2], both call the place Divisae, a word which is found used in our charters as the technical term for boundaries, from the twelfth to the fifteenth century. The probability is, that the district where the Roman road leading from London to Bath, stooped down into Welsh territory was known as 'the borders'; and that when Devizes was founded in the twelfth century it took its name from the district, and was called Divisae according to the phraseology of the period. A Cistercian monastery in Northamptonshire, which was also founded in the twelfth century, was called De Divisis, either because it lay on the borders of Rockingham Forest, or because the forest itself was looked upon as constituting the Divisae or borders of the county—certainly not for either of the foolish reasons which are given us in the Monasticon. Devizes is of course nothing more than a barbarous anglicism for Divisae.

Further south, at the extreme angle of Salisbury Plain, and immediately adjoining to localities which still exhibit very remarkable traces of British occupation, we meet with the village called Mere. This name is no less significant and appropriate than that of Devizes; and may indeed be considered as the English equivalent of the Latin word.

It may be thought strange, that the Welsh should retain a tongue of land some 50 miles long by 14 broad, in the midst of a country which had become English territory. But everything tends to show us, that these anomalies were of frequent occurrence in the territorial arrangements of the period. After one of these dreadful inroads of which we have spoken, the open country—more especially in the neighbourhood of the great roads—must have presented a scene of desolation over which our ancestors moved as masters; but scattered here and there must have been towns, castella, and forests in which the wretched inhabitants had taken refuge, and where they still main-

[1] Flor. Wig. Chron. 2. 126. Hist. Soc. Publ. [2] Hist. Anglic., b. 1, c. vi.

tained themselves. In resettling the boundaries the great problem would no doubt be, how to unite these scattered localities with other Welsh territory, so as least to encroach upon the districts which the sword of the foreigner had won. The difficulty was not badly met in the case before us. The main lines of communication, to wit the Roman roads leading from Cirencester to Bath and Winchester respectively, were yielded up to our ancetsors, but the wooded valleys of the Frome and the Avon were left in the possession of their old inhabitants. The new frontier may have been a weak one along the 'Wall,' from Wallscombe to Englishcombe, and again from Castlecombe to Malmesbury; but in every other part of its course, it was a line drawn by the hand of nature herself, and as strong as hill forest or marsh could make it.

In following out these speculations, the questions naturally arise, who were the British princes that negotiated the treaty which resulted in all this parcelling out of territory? who the British king that led his Welshmen to the fierce fight upon the plains of Wanborough? who the leaders that withstood Cenwalh at Bradford, and at 'the Pens'? These are fair and reasonable questions, but they are not easily answered. In the whole course of our national history there is no period in which the fortunes of the British race are involved in more bewildering uncertainty than the one we are now concerned with. Still, however, there are some glimmerings of light which if rightly used may help to guide us, and contemptible as is the authority of Geoffrey's work considered as a history, yet it may possibly contain legendary matter that will be of service to us in the inquiry.

This fabler traces the line of Brutus through a long series of British kings till it terminates in the death of the two brothers Ferrex and Porrex. Then, we are told, after some interval a certain young man named Dunwallo Molmutius, son of Cloten, Duke of Cornwall, rebelled against the king of Loegria (England) and made himself King of

Britain. This Dunwallo constructed roads compiled the celebrated code of laws which bears his name, and died leaving two sons Belinus and Brennus. Civil war arose between the brothers, the latter of whom was aided by the King of Denmark. They were, however, at last reconciled, and Brennus passed over to the continent, and after various adventures took Rome—was in short the Brennus whom Livy has made famous. Belinus left his kingdom to his son Gurguntius Barbtruch, a mild prince but a man of spirit; and, when the King of Denmark refused to pay the customary tribute, Gurguntius attacked him, and after many fierce battles compelled him to submit, &c.

We have already observed that a prince named Dyvnwal Moelmyd—of which name Dunwallo Molmutius is merely the Latinized form—figures largely in Welsh legendary history. He is commemorated in no less than four of the triads; and not only are his laws represented as the groundwork of the celebrated Code of Hywel Dha, but copies of them are said to be still extant in certain MSS., and have been more than once published. There is no character of early Welsh story that comes before us in a more consistent shape, or with circumstances that more nearly approach to historical probability. If we look merely to Welsh tradition, it seems difficult to suppose that Dyvnwal Moelmyd was a mere myth; and when we find the early accounts of Malmesbury ascribing to him the erection of the castellum at that place, and of two other castella in the neighbourhood, we can hardly help drawing the inference, that he was a real personage, who before, and perhaps not long before, Ceawlin's inroad exercised a certain supremacy in that part of Britain. If we further suppose that certain loose traditions of his reign reached Geoffrey, we can easily understand how such a writer would feel little scruple in fixing him some 400 years before Christ, merely in order to identify his son Brennus with the conqueror of Rome.

The hypothesis we have sketched out is indirectly supported by another and perfectly independent line of inquiry. 'The Book of Llandaff' in its present shape is a compilation of the twelfth century, and some of the legends it contains may perhaps be of a date not long anterior to its compilation. But the charters it contains were certainly taken wholly or in part, literally or with slight verbal alterations, from the Registry of the Cathedral, and from these charters we learn that the principal benefactors of Llandaff were certain princes, who reigned over the present counties of Monmouth and Glamorgan, in the following order; Teithfalt, Tewdric, Meuric, Athruis, Morgan, &c.; and from the latter Glamorgan took its name—Gwlad Morgan, the country of Morgan. The charters which mention these princes never meddle with chronology, and the dates which have been quite recently assigned to the reigns of some of them, differ by centuries. Yet it seems easy enough to settle within narrow limits the periods when these princes must have lived. It appears from the charters that King Meuric was a contemporary of the two bishops Dubricius and Oudoceus. Now according to the *Annales Cambriae*, Bishop Dibric (who must certainly be Dubricius) died A.D. 612; and according to the same authority King Iudris (who must certainly be the same person as Athruis), was slain in battle on the banks of the Severn in the year 632[1]. We may then conclude that his grandfather Tewdric was reigning over Glamorgan towards the close of the sixth century. The story which represents[2] this prince as leaving his hermitage on the banks of the Wye to join the army of his son King Meuric, of his defeating our ancestors and earning a martyr's fate and fame in the moment of victory, is no doubt familiar to the reader. In St. Teilo's legend[3], Mailcun, Tewdric son of Teithpall, and *Gwrgant Mawr*, that is, Gwrgant the Great,

[1] The death of 'Iudruis, King of the Britons,' is recorded in the Annals of Tighernach, under the date 633.

[2] Lib. Land. p. 133.

[3] Ib. p. 111.

appear among the earliest benefactors of Llandaff, and they are all three represented, according to the loose statements common to this class of compositions, as contemporaries of the saint. Mailcun is of course the celebrated Maelgwn Gwynedd, King of North Wales, whose death is recorded in the *Annales Cambriae*, A.D. 547; and Gurgantus Magnus, we learn from the charters, was father-in-law to King Meuric. If we suppose Teudricus and Gurgantus Magnus to have flourished during the half century which followed Maelgwn's death, we shall sufficiently meet the requirements of the story, such as it may be gathered from the disjointed notices, contained in the charters and other trustworthy portions of the Liber Landavensis.

From the manner in which the name of Gurgantus Magnus is mentioned, it is evident he was a prince of high rank and dignity among his contemporaries. When Bishop Oudoceus returned to Wales from Canterbury, after his consecration, we are told[1] that 'King Meuric, with his two sons and his wife Onbraus, *daughter of Gurgantus Magnus*, and the three Abbots of the three monasteries, and all the princes of the kingdom,' went out to meet him, and, though the whole story be a fable, it may suffice to show us the place which Gurgantus Magnus occupied in Welsh tradition. Again, in a certain charter[2], 'Meuric King of Glamorgan, son of Teudric, and his wife Onbraust, daughter of Gurgantus Magnus,' &c., gave certain estates to Llandaff and Bishop Oudoceus; and in another charter, estates in Gower are given to the same religious foundation by 'Athruis, grandson of Gurgantus Magnus[3].' These princes of Glamorgan, though certainly among the most eminent in South Wales, seem to have been proud of their connexion with this great but mysterious personage. Yet we know not who or what he was or where he lived, though we can give the genealogy of some half dozen petty princes, who must have been his contemporaries. Every little district west of the Severn is provided with its regulus, and we are

[1] Lib. Land. p. 125. [2] Ib. p. 132. [3] Ib. p. 136.

fairly driven across the Bristol Channel before we can find room for one who filled such a space in the eyes of its contemporaries. May he not have been king of Domnonia, the same Gurguntius Barbtruch, whom Geoffrey represents as the grandson of Dunwallo Molmutius, and who, under the name of Gwrgan Varvtrwch, figures so largely in Welsh legend?

Welsh scholars, who have annotated the Liber Landavensis, seem inclined to think that all the estates conveyed by the charters in which the name of Gurgantus Magnus occurs, were situated in Gower[1]. It seems probable that the supremacy of this king of Domnonia was acknowledged by the Welsh princes west of the Severn, and that the lands conveyed to Llandaff by his daughter and grandson were part of the royal demesne, which, as suzerain, he had a right to dispose of, and which he had given to his daughter on her marriage with Meuric. That the suzerain had power to make these territorial grants may be inferred from the statement we find in Nennius, to the effect that Pascentius, son of Vortigern, received the territory called Guortigernianum, in Herefordshire, as a gift from Ambrosius, who was 'king over all the districts of Britain'—largiente Ambrosio qui fuerat rex in omnes regiones Britanniae. Again, the Liber Landavensis contains a charter[2], in which Pepiau king of Ercyng bestows on Llandaff and Bishop Dubricius an estate lying near the Wye, and described as 'the gift (jaculum)[3] of his father-in-law King Constantinus,' who signs as one of the attesting witnesses. This charter

[1] The port of Swansea, which adjoins to Gower, must have been the chief means of communication between South Wales and Domnonia; and therefore we can understand how the kings of Domnonia came to possess territorial rights in that neighbourhood. The intercourse between Swansea and the opposite coast seems to be still active. When I explored the district of Gower some fourteen or fifteen years ago, I was much surprised at the great number of persons I met with who were natives of Somerset or Devon.

[2] Lib. Land. p. 69.

[3] I do not remember to have seen any other example of this word. Judging from the meaning given to the related word *jacto*, I infer that *jaculum*, in medieval Latin, signified a gift or conveyance of property.

precedes the two which make mention of Gurgantus Magnus, and must therefore, I presume, be of earlier date. I infer, that before the time of Gurgantus Magnus, the sovereignty of Constantinus was acknowledged west of the Severn, and that by virtue of his sovereign power, he conveyed the estate in question to his son-in-law King Pepiau.

'The conversion of Constantinus to the Lord,' is a celebrated entry in the *Annales Cambriae*, from which Tighernach appears to have borrowed it. The date attached to it, according to the calculation of the editors of the Mon. Hist. Brit., corresponds with the year of our Lord 589; but in the annals of Tighernach the entry appears under the date 588. The 'conversion,' if we may trust our later historians, meant simply a retirement into some monastery; and, according to Fordun[1], into a Scotch monastery, though I suspect he drew this inference simply from having met with the entry in the Scotch, i.e. the Gaelic, Annals of Tighernach.

Having viewed these dark and intricate questions by the light of Welsh tradition, and by the aid of such casual hints as are furnished us by the *Annales Cambriae*, and by the charters contained in the Liber Landavensis, let us now turn our attention to the scanty but precious notices which have been handed down to us in the two works of Gildas —his Epistle and his History.

The Epistle of Gildas refers to Mailcunus as still living, and therefore could not have been written later than the middle of the sixth century. It could not have been written much earlier, for Gildas was born in the year of the siege of the Mons Badonicus, which was probably the year 520, and we cannot suppose the epistle to have been written by a man much under thirty. In this work Gildas inveighs against five British princes by name; Constantinus, 'the tyrannical whelp of the lioness of Domnonia;'

[1] Scot. Hist. iii. 25. In the pages of Fordun 'the sainted Constantinus, King of Cornubia,' appears as a missionary and a martyr!

Aurelius Conan, spotted like a leopard; Cuneglassus, who is reminded that his name signifies a tawny butcher; Vortiporius, the aged tyrant of the Dimetae[1];' and, finally, 'the island-dragon' Mailcunus, at once himself a tyrant and the uprooter of tyrants. We are told that Constantinus had that very year violated sanctuary and murdered two royal youths in their mother's arms, and beneath the very 'amphibalum' of the abbot; and that this was not his first crime, for that many years before, lost in adulteries and sins, he had repudiated his lawful wife, &c. Aurelius Conan is bid take warning by the untimely end of his ancestors and his brothers (patrum fratrumque), and told that he is now but a barren stock. Cuneglassus and Vortiporius are not mentioned elsewhere, except in the veracious pages of Geoffrey. Mailcunus is the well-known Maelgwn Gwynedd, whose chief seat, Anglesea, no doubt suggested to Gildas the abusive epithet he applies to him.

The 'History' of Gildas was written forty years after the siege of the Mons Badonicus, or about the year 560. It is in this work that we find Aurelius Ambrosius described as 'courteous, mild, and true,' as being of Roman descent, and as having lost in the disturbances of the time relatives (parentes) who had *worn the purple*. The writer's meaning may not be expressed with all the precision we might wish for, but I think there is only one conclusion[2] that any critical mind can come to, viz. that Aurelius Ambrosius was a descendant of the two usurpers Constantinus and Constans, who passed over into Gaul, A.D. 407, and perished there four years afterwards.

Aurelius Ambrosius, there can be little doubt, was the same person as the Natanleod of the Chronicle[3], and therefore must have perished A.D. 508. From Gildas' History we gather that at the time it was written, i.e., some half

[1] That is, the people of Pembroke and the adjacent districts.

[2] Vide Salisbury Vol. Arch. Institute, p. 49; above, p. 172.

[3] Above, p 183.

century after the death of Aurelius, his descendants were occupying a large space in the public eye, though Gildas describes them as having greatly degenerated from the worth of their ancestors. Now, when we remember that the two princes whom Gildas in his Epistle makes the first objects of his invective, bore the names respectively of Constantinus and Aurelius, we can hardly avoid the conclusion that they were the descendants, however unworthy, of Aurelius Ambrosius; and when, moreover, we find Aurelius Conan reminded, in the same epistle, of the untimely end of his ancestors and of his *brothers*, we are almost necessarily led to infer, that he was the brother of the royal youths whom Constantine had murdered. Geoffrey makes Aurelius Conan the nephew of Constantine, but it will agree better with the tenor of our present speculations, if we suppose him to have borne to him the relationship of great-nephew. It is clear from Gildas' narrative that the murdered princes were mere youths when slain by Constantine, and consequently that neither they, nor their brother Aurelius Conan, could have had Owen Vinddu (of whom we shall speak shortly) for a father, if this elder brother of Constantine died at the time we have elsewhere[1] supposed to be the case.

The scanty notice that is taken in Welsh legend of a man so eminent as Aurelius Ambrosius is very remarkable. It seems to have resulted mainly from the popularity acquired by Geoffrey's romance, that unhappy work which is everywhere found darkening the pure light of our early history. Nennius tells us, that Arthur was called *map uter*, the terrible boy, because he was cruel from his childhood; and Geoffrey having somewhere met with the phrase, and mistaking the adjective for a proper name, supposed it to mean 'the son of Uther,' and so called into existence that fabulous personage Uther Pendragon, the brother of Aurelius Ambrosius, and the father of Arthur. Accordingly, and in

[1] Salisbury Vol. Arch. Institute, p. 60; above, p. 196.

open defiance of Gildas' History, he treats Ambrosius as a childless man, and passes on the sovereignty to this supposed brother, the mere creature of his own imagination. The triads and other Welsh legends that mentioned Ambrosius appear to have been altered with the view of accommodating them to these fables, and when a difficulty occurred, the name of the usurper Maximus (Maxen Wledig) seems very commonly to have been substituted for that of Ambrosius. Owen Vinddu, Peblig, Ednyved and Cystennyn Goronawg, are represented as the sons of this Maxen Wledig —a statement which it is impossible to reconcile either with Roman or with British history. But there are certain MSS., for instance the one translated by Roberts, which make Owen Vinddu to be the son of Ambrosius. This hypothesis has nothing in it inconsistent with the known facts of history, and gives probability to the statement contained in the remarkable triad which represents Owen Vinddu as one of the three *Cynweissiaid*[1] or overseers, and whom, according to some MSS., all followed 'from the prince to the peasant at the need of the country, on account of the invasion and tyranny of the foe.' Cawrdav, son of Caradawg Vreichvras, was another of those who are said to have attained the perilous honour of being the nation's 'overseer' under like circumstances.

We have then some authority, that is, such authority as Welsh tradition can furnish us with, for considering Owen Vinddu not only as the son, but also as the successor of Ambrosius; and indeed there is a triad which actually represents him as one of the three British kings who were raised to the throne by the general convention of the country. On the authority of the same triad we may venture to consider Cawrdav son of Caradawg Vreichvras, as one of those who attained the like dignity; and if we adopt this conclusion, it may be a support to the inference which other considerations lead us to; namely, that his

[1] Myv. Arch 2. 4.

father Caradawg Vreichvras, was the son or other near relative of Owen Vinddu. The best informed Welsh scholars consider Caer Caradawg, so often mentioned in Welsh story, to be—not Salisbury as Geoffrey represents it to be, but—the strong earthwork immediately adjoining to Amesbury (Caer Emrys); and its neighbourhood to, if not its identity with, the city of Emrys or Ambrosius, seems to warrant the inference, that, by virtue of his descent from this prince, Caradawg became lord of the important fortress that bore his name. Caradawg Vreichvras is celebrated as one of the three *Cadvarcogion* or Battle-knights, and his prowess has been repeatedly the theme of Welsh eulogy. He must for some twenty or thirty years have fought the Welshman's battle, and borne the brunt of every hostile inroad.

The circumstance that Caradawg Vreichvras acted as one of Arthur's officers, need not lead us to distrust the conclusion, that Caradawg was a descendant of Ambrosius. Alternations of power and dependence on the part of the great families seem to have been characteristic of the period; and there is reason to believe[1] that Vortimer, son of Vortigern, at one time acted as the lieutenant of Ambrosius, his father's rival. As to the origin and early career of Arthur, I have nothing to add to what has been stated elsewhere[2]. I know of no trustworthy authority that connects him with the family of Ambrosius, and I still believe him to have been elected the *dux belli* in a moment of danger, probably on the death of Owen without children, or with children too young to meet the exigencies of the times. On the death of Arthur, Caradawg probably continued for some time to stem the tide of invasion in South Britain, and his son Cawrdav may have succeeded to the same perilous duty on the death of his father[3].

[1] Salisbury Vol. Arch. Inst. p. 53; above, p. 176.

[2] Salisb. Vol. Arch. Inst. p. 67; above, p. 193.

[3] In the Salisbury Vol. Arch Inst. p. 68, above, p. 195, I stated that Caradawg probably lost his life at the battle of Cattraeth. It is the commonly

The pedigree of Dyvnwal has been variously given by different writers. The tradition that makes him the son of Prydain[1], son of Aedd Mawr, &c., is mythical on the face of it, for Prydain is evidently the eponyme of Britain; and that which makes him the son of Clydno, son of Prydain, &c., is merely another edition of the former one accommodated to Geoffrey's narrative[2]. But we are told that one Dyvnwal Hen, that is Dyfnwal the Old, was the son of Ednyved, brother of Cystennyn Goronawg, and, if we suppose—and the supposition has every probability in its favour—that Dyvnwal Hen was the familiar name assigned by tradition to Dyvnwal Moelmyd, then Dyvnwal Moelmyd must have been nephew of Constantinus and grandson of Ambrosius.

The reader will now understand the grounds on which the following scheme is constructed. It is an attempt to show the pedigree and descendants of Aurelius Ambrosius, and is indeed little more than an enlarged edition of the scheme which was published in the Arch. Jour., Salisb. Vol. p. 70, and above, p. 197.

received opinion, but considerations which I cannot here enter upon, have convinced me that it is an untenable one. Caradawg Vreichvras could not possibly have been the Caradawg mentioned in the Gododin.

[1] Myv. Arch. 2. 67. Triad 58.

[2] The oldest MS. of the *Dull Gwynnedd*, or N. Welsh version of the Laws of Hywel Dha, which was probably written in the twelfth century, contains the following notice of Dyvnwal Moelmyd. 'Before the crown of London and the sovereignty were seized by the Saxons, *Diwynal moel mud* was king of this island, and he was son of the Earl of Cernyw (Cornwall) by the daughter of the king of Loygyr (England), and after the male line of succession to the kingdom became extinct, he obtained it by the distaff, as being grandson to the king.' Dull Gwynnedd, cxvii. Later MSS. make him the son of Clydno, Earl of Cernyw. These various notices of Dyvnwal are evidently fables originating in Geoffrey's History.

- Constantinus, Emp. (Cystennyu Gorneu), slain 411.
  - Constans, Emp. slain 411.
    - Aurelius Ambrosius (Emrys Wledig), K. of Britain, slain 508.
      - Owain Vinddu, K. of Britain.
        - Caradawg Vreichvras.
          - Cawrdav, K. of Brit.
          - Aurelius Conan.
          - The murdered princes.
      - Peblig.
      - Ednyved.
        - Dyvnwal Moelmyd, *alias* Dyvnwal Hen.
          - Belinus.
            - Gwrgan Varvtrwch (Gurgantus Magnus), K. of Britain.
              - Onbraust. = Meuric, K. of Glamorgan.
                - Athruis, slain 632.
                  - Princes of Glamorgan.
          - Brennus.
      - Cystennyn Goranawg (Constantinus of Gildas), K. of Britain, 'converted to the Lord,' A.D. 589, Ann. Camb. A.D. 588, Ann. of Tighernach.
        - A daughter = Pepiau, K. of Ercyng.
          - Dunawd, K. of Ercyng, died A.D. 595.
  - Julianus, slain 411.

I have, whenever it was possible, tested these speculations by the aid of chronology. It is a searching test, and in the present case requires to be applied with caution and with a certain allowance for the imperfection of the instrument. The dates assigned to the events recorded in the *Annales Cambriae*, are calculated from an unknown epoch. It is probable that the several entries were taken from the Registry of some monastery, and that the 'year one' indicated the year when the monastery was founded and the Registry commenced. Before we can know the real date of any event, we must ascertain from other sources the date of some

preceding or subsequent event, and then add or subtract the number of intervening years. Unfortunately there is hardly a single event recorded in the earlier part of these annals whose date is known with perfect certainty. Even the relative dates are not always trustworthy. The Roman numerals, which indicate these dates, are particularly liable to error in transcription, and it would be easy to show that in some cases the copyists have blundered. The dates I have given according to the vulgar aera, are those calculated by the editors of the Mon. Hist. Brit.; and though, as I have stated elsewhere, I consider them to be not altogether trustworthy, yet I believe them to be in most cases near approximations to the truth. The dates which are given in Dr. O'Conor's edition of Tighernach's Annals, are of course open to the same criticism.

The principal, if not the only difficulty in the scheme which has been submitted to the reader, relates to the age of Constantinus, on his retirement into the monastery. Though we suppose him to have been left an infant at the death of Ambrosius, and though we take the most favourable dates the Annals furnish us with, he must have been at least eighty years of age when he was 'converted to the Lord.' I do not shut my eyes to the grave objections which at first sight surround such a hypothesis, but formidable as is the difficulty, I may venture to ask, is it an insuperable one?

Gildas wrote his Epistle before, but not very long before the year 550, and in it he tells us, that the murder of the princes was not the first crime Constantinus had committed, for that *many years* before, lost in adulteries and sins, he had repudiated his lawful wife[1]. We can hardly suppose that the prince so addressed had not reached the period of middle life, and the age which on our hypothesis must be assigned to him, namely, some forty years, agrees

[1] Et hoc ne post laudanda quidem merita egit. Nam multis ante annis crebris alternatisque foetoribus adulteriorum victus, legitima uxore contra Christi Magistrique gentium interdictum repulsa, &c.

well with Gildas' statement. Again, Dunawd, son of Pabo post Prydain, is celebrated in the Triads as one of the 'three pillars of battle of the Isle of Britain.' Pabo must certainly be the same prince as Pepiau, son-in-law to King Constantinus; and the death of 'King Dunaut' is recorded in the *Annales Cambriae*, A.D. 595. If we suppose that Dunawd was only thirty years of age at the time of his death, his grandfather, some six years previously, may very well have reached the age of eighty. These considerations may not lead to any very definite conclusion, but both point in the same direction, both would lead us to infer, that the wretched king was sinking under the weight of his years, no less than of his crimes and his misfortunes, when he sought refuge in the cloister.

With this explanation, I believe the scheme that has been submitted to the reader's notice will answer all the fair requirements of the test it has been subjected to; and I do not hesitate to express my belief, that no such coherence of dates would be found in a story which had not, to say the least, a certain substratum of truth to rest upon.

Before we close the paper, it may be well briefly to review the conclusions to which these speculations lead us.

It would seem that in the middle of the sixth century, when Gildas wrote his Epistle, Constantinus, youngest son of Aurelius Ambrosius, was lord of Domnonia, and gradually working his way by a course of intrigue and violence to the supremacy of Britain. We have grounds for the belief that he succeeded in this object of his ambition, though his success was soon followed by the revolt of his nephew Dyvnwal Moelmyd, and, as a consequence of such revolt, by the loss, not only of Domnonia, but also of certain districts which belonged to the *Civitas* of the Belgae. Dyvnwal appears to have secured his conquests by the erection of castella, and to have established a wise and vigorous government. When the battle of Deorham was fought, the territory subject to this king—or it may be to his son and successor Belinus—must have reached to within a few

miles of Cirencester; and to the lukewarmness or the disaffection of these princes, Ceawlin may have been in some measure indebted for his success. To the same causes may perhaps be attributed the comparative facility with which, as it would seem, the Britons in the neighbourhood of Bath came into an arrangement with our ancestors.

The British kingdom which Dyvnwal Moelmyd succeeded in establishing took the name of the *Civitas*, which formed its larger portion, and was called Domnonia. Under Gwrgan Varvtrwch, it appears to have reached its greatest height of prosperity. The lord of the rich and beautiful district, which stretched from Malmesbury to the Lands End, must have been little inferior to the king of Wessex himself, either in the extent or in the resources of his dominions. We have reasons for believing, that the supremacy of Gwrgan Varvtrwch was acknowledged, probably on the retirement of his aged relative Constantinus, by such of the British chiefs as survived the ruin of their country; and it was probably under the leadership of this prince that the Britons fought in the great battle, the loss of which drove Ceawlin into exile—at least, I know of no other event which tradition could have tortured into those successes against the king of Denmark, ascribed by Geoffrey to Gurguntius Barbtruch.

In Gwrgan Varvtrwch I would also recognise the king of Domnonia who is represented by Malmesbury[1] as the founder of Glastonbury Abbey. 'In the year of our Lord's Incarnation 601, a king of Domnonia granted the land in five hides, which is called Yniswitrin, to the Old Church there situate, at the request of the Abbot Worgret. 'I, Bishop Mauron, have written this charter; I, Worgret, of the same place abbot, have subscribed my name.' Who the king was, the great age of the instrument prevents us from ascertaining, but that he was a Briton might be inferred from this, that he called Glastonbury in his own language Yniswitrin, for it is well known that it is so called

[1] De Ant. Glast.

by them in the British tongue. To Abbot Worgret whose very name smacks of British barbarism, succeeded Lodemund, and to him Bregored. The dates of their promotion are uncertain, but their names and rank are exhibited in the greater church, on the tablet by the altar. To Bregored succeeded Berthwald.'

Here we have a king of Domnonia dealing *as such* with a portion of the Belgic province. It was not the sovereign of Britain, but the king of Domnonia, who made the grant, and I would ask whether this does not strengthen the conclusion to which we have been led by other trains of reasoning; to wit, that sometime in the sixth century the kings of Domnonia conquered certain tracts of Britain lying beyond the boundaries of their proper territories, and thus gave rise to the traditions on which Geoffrey based his story of the revolt and successes of Dunwallo Molmutius?

The direct male descendants of Gwrgan Varvtrwch, if indeed he left any, are unknown, for it would be idle to follow the statements of Geoffrey when not supported by independent testimony; but we have ample proof that the descendants of his daughter Onbraust were reigning over the modern counties of Monmouth and Glamorgan for many generations. The first of his successors on the throne of Domnonia whom history recognises, is Gereint, the opponent of Ina king of Wessex. In the days of Gereint, Domnonia though stripped of half its provinces must still have been, both in power and in dignity, the first of the British kingdoms. I cannot think that Aldhelm would have addressed any of the petty princes of Wales in terms like those he uses in the preface to the celebrated letter he wrote to Gereint on the subject of Church Discipline.

'To the most glorious Lord of the Western Kingdom, whom—He that searches hearts and weighs our actions is my witness—I love with brotherly affection; to King Gerontius, and at the same time to all the priests of God

scattered throughout Domnonia, Aldhelm, abbot, &c., sends health in the Lord.'

The writer of this epistle was among the first, if not actually the first of the learned men of Europe, and also a very near relative of Ina. Making all allowance for epistolary compliment, I think we may fairly draw the conclusion, that a prince addressed in such language by a man so eminent could have held no mean place among the crowned heads of that period.

It is not my object to trace the several stages of decay through which the power of Domnonia passed, as it melted away before the ascendancy of England. The more intimate relations of this British kingdom were no doubt with the kindred races of Wales and Brittany, but the influences it exercised over the national progress, and even over the literature of its English neighbours, were by no means of slight account, though they have hitherto been most strangely overlooked. They afford, I think, the only solution of some of the most intricate problems connected with our early history; and the little attention which has hitherto been directed to the subject can only be excused by a consideration of the great difficulties which surround the inquiry. Materials for such inquiry may be scanty, but they are not altogether wanting, and if subjected to a searching criticism might possibly yield results no less important than unexpected. May I venture to express a hope that some rays of light have been thrown on these dark passages of our history in the present essay?

THE NORTHERN TERMINATION OF OFFA'S DYKE.

[Read at Rhyl, at the Meeting of the Cambrian Archaeological Association in August, 1858; and reprinted from the 'Archaeologia Cambrensis,' October, 1858.]

If we except the walls of Hadrian and Antoninus, there is no boundary line in Britain which has so many claims upon our notice as the one which Offa drew from the mouth of the Wye to the estuary of the Dee. In some respects the interest attaching to it surpasses that which belongs to the Roman works that preceded it. The tribes living immediately to the north of Hadrian's wall were swept away by Ida and his Angles in the sixth century; and the Picts, whom the other wall was intended to bridle, were, as a nation, exterminated by the Irish Scots in the ninth. But the two races which Offa's Dyke separated in the eighth century still find themselves face to face along its course, and their national fortunes have been intimately blended with its history for upwards of a thousand years. Any attempt, therefore, to settle the course of this celebrated boundary, with greater precision than has hitherto been done, cannot, to say the least, be considered as labour thrown away on an unworthy subject.

The doubts which have so long existed with respect to the northern terminus of the Clawdd Offa, and the strange mis-statements on the subject which were so long admitted without protest, or even question, are certainly not to the credit of our antiquaries. It is well known, that at an average distance of some three miles to the east of Offa's Dyke, and nearly parallel to it, there runs another earthwork called Wat's Dyke, which may be traced very satis-

factorily from the valley of the Severn south of Oswestry to the sea at Holywell. For a period of nearly four hundred years the northern portion of this latter dyke has been confounded with the Clawdd Offa; and even those who have recognized its real character have failed in their attempts to trace the course by which the more westerly dyke reached the sea.

In the *Book of Basingwerk*, a MS. which has been attributed to the fifteenth century, and which contains a copy (with additions) of the Welsh Chronicle called the *Brut y Tywysogion*, we have the following account of the circumstances which led to the construction of the Clawdd Offa:—

'In the summer the Cymry wasted Offa's dominions, and Offa had a dyke made as a boundary (terfyn) between him and the Cymry, to enable him the more easily to withstand the attacks of his enemies, and it was called Clawdd Offa from that time to this day. And it stretches from one sea to the other, to wit, from the south bordering on Bristow, to the north above Flint, between the Monks' House of Dinas Basing and the Mynydd y Glo.'

Dinas Basing is of course Basingwerk, near Holywell, and Mynydd y Glo is said to be the name of one of the neighbouring hills. It would seem, therefore, that the writer of the *Book of Basingwerk* considered the dyke which passed by the monastery of that name to be a portion, not of Wat's Dyke, as is really the case, but of the Clawdd Offa. Such is still the opinion of the peasantry in that neighbourhood, and such appears to have been at one time the opinion of Pennant, though he had lived all his lifetime on a family property which lay between the two dykes, and though he had written a history of Whitford parish, over which the real Clawdd Offa may still be traced. He tells us in his first 'Journey' that Basingwerk Castle was defended on

'—the south-east by the vast ditch which has hitherto been

universally supposed to have been that made by Offa, King of the Mercians. I owe the detection of this mistake to Mr. John Evans, of Llwyn y Groes, who proves it to be one termination of another stupendous work of the same kind known as Watsditch; of which a full account will be given in some of the following pages, &c.—*Tours in Wales*, i. 31.

Pennant afterwards traces the real Clawdd Offa from the Wye through South and North Wales to

'— a little valley on the south side of Bryn Yorkyn mountain, to Coed Talwrn and Cae-dwn a farm near Treyddin chapel in the parish of Mold (pointing towards the Clwydian Hills) beyond which there can no farther traces be discovered.

'*Cae Dwn*, or rather *Cae Twn* according to Dr. Davies, signifies *fractura*, than which nothing can be more expressive of the ending of this famous work, which as I have not long since observed, terminates in a flat cultivated country on the farm of *Cae Twn*, near Treyddyn Chapel, in the parish of Mold. The termination is remote from any hill or place of strength; it is therefore reasonable to imagine that this mighty attempt was here suddenly interrupted by some cause of which we must ever remain ignorant.

'No reason appears why its course was not continued from sea to sea. It seems probable that Offa imagined that the Clwydian hills and the deep valley that lies on this side at their base would serve as a continuance of his prohibitory line: he had carried his arms over most part of Flintshire, and vainly imagined that his labours would restrain the Cambrian inroads in one part, and his orders prevent any incursions beyond the natural limits which he had decreed should be the boundaries of his new conquests,' &c.—*Tours in Wales*, i. 351.

I had examined too many of these boundary-dykes, and was too familiar with their present condition, to consider the apparent termination of the Clawdd Offa in Mold parish as in any way warranting the inference which Pennant drew from it. Asser, moreover, who lived little more than a century after the construction of this dyke,

and who, from being himself a Welshman, and from the circumstances of his position, had every opportunity of knowing the truth of the matter, tells us distinctly that Offa made his vallum from sea to sea. I could not therefore but distrust Pennant's conclusion; and when I found the Ordnance maps giving the name of 'Offa's Dyke' to an earthwork situated some ten miles to the north-west of Mold, and running for four miles in a direction nearly parallel to that of Wat's Dyke, from which it was three or four miles distant, I felt pretty sure that Asser's account was the true one, and that the disappearance of the dyke in Mold parish was merely a result of the more active farming, which the wants of a mining and manufacturing neighbourhood would naturally give rise to. I had long wished to examine the district lying north of Mold, and availed myself of the opportunity which was presented by the meeting of the Archaeological Institute at Chester, last summer, of so doing.

On my first visit, after examining a portion of Wat's Dyke—which, by the by, the whole country assured me was the Clawdd Offa—I proceeded to Mold in search of the farm called *Cae-dwn*, where, according to Pennant, the Clawdd Offa terminated. But no one at Mold was acquainted with any farm so called; and even the courteous gentleman to whom I was introduced at the office of the Clerk of the Peace, and who professed himself to be, and who I doubt not was, intimately acquainted with the neighbourhood, had never heard the name[1]. Not to waste time, therefore, I at once mounted the hills in search of the earthwork to which the Ordnance maps gave the name of 'Offa's Dyke'; and after many vain attempts at last got tidings of it, some two miles beyond Caer-wys. Here I lighted on an old labourer, named Richard Williams, of Ffordd fudr (*Anglice*, dirty lane),

[1] I might perhaps have been more successful if I had remembered the name of *Treyddyn Chapel*; but I had not looked into Pennant for years, and my memory, though not on the whole a bad one, in this instance failed me.

and a clever lad, the son of the farmer who lives at the neighbouring homestead, called Whiteford. Under their guidance I was taken a short distance down the Holywell Road, and soon found myself at the southern extremity of this fragment of the Clawdd Offa. It cannot now be traced south of the Holywell Road, but Williams well remembered its passing in that direction towards Plas Newydd, and 'had crossed it hundreds of times when a boy, before the common was inclosed.' At the time of the inclosure it appears to have been levelled.

From the Holywell Road I traced this dyke northward to the neighbourhood of Newmarket, and in so doing several times crossed and recrossed the road leading to that village. It seemed to me that there had once been a wide trackway along the course of the dyke, and that, as land became valuable, and the road was narrowed, the proprietors inclosed the dyke sometimes on one side of the road, and sometimes on the other. The earthwork was much degraded, and indeed levelled, for considerable distances; but all the peasantry we met with knew its course, and recognized it as the Clawdd Offa. This notoriety seemed to be chiefly owing to the following circumstances. In passing through Whitford parish, the dyke separates two tithings, and stories were told me of the way in which the farmers cropped their land on different sides of this line, with the view of cheating the tithe-owner. A little further on it bounds the parish of Llanasaph to the west, separating it first from the parish of Whitford, and afterwards from the parish of New-market. As the parish bounds are beaten along the dyke, its direction is of course notorious to the whole neighbourhood.

Before I proceeded to examine this earthwork I went with my young guide to an old man, named Piers Jones, nearly eighty years of age, and who, I was told, 'knew more about the matter than the whole parish besides.' His intelligence almost justified the eulogy. He spoke

unhesitatingly of the Clawdd Offa passing south of the Holywell Road, and over the Halkin mountain to Mold parish. Its northern course he described minutely, mentioning the houses it passed—the Whiteford homestead, Tre Abbot fawr, &c.,—till it came near Newmarket; 'it then passes by Gwaun-Ysgor, and reaches the sea at a place called Uffern (hell)—a bad place to end at, ain't it, Sir?' My first day's exploration proved the correctness of so many of the old man's statements that I felt pretty confident he was also trustworthy in the other particulars of his story.

I landed next day at the Prestatyn station, on the Holyhead Railway, and was not long in finding the house which goes by the name of Uffern. It lies opposite to the most dangerous shoal on the Flintshire coast, and, I was told, received its name from the cruelties practised on the shipwrecked mariners in times when 'wrecking' was more prevalent than it is at the present day. I could, however, neither find nor hear of any traces of the Clawdd Offa in its neighbourhood, and therefore once more mounted the hills, on my way south to Newmarket by way of Gwaun-Ysgor. In the latter village I made many inquiries respecting the dyke, but the only piece of information I could glean was from the widow of the late clerk, Henry Griffiths. From this old lady I learnt that her husband, some years before his death, had received letters from certain persons in London on the subject of the Clawdd Offa, and informed them that it ran between Gwaun-Ysgor and Golden Grove, the residence of Colonel Morgan, about a mile east of Gwaun-Ysgor; she, however, herself had never seen it.

On reaching Newmarket, I proceeded to the spot where, in following the dyke the day before, I had lost all traces of it. As it had for some distance formed the bounds of Llanasaph parish, it seemed probable that by following the parish bounds further northwards, some fragments of it might be discovered. I therefore turned seawards once

more, and, with half the village in company, proceeded to beat the bounds of Llanasaph parish. The only relics, however, of the Clawdd Offa which I met with were found at the top of the hill, about half a mile from Newmarket. Here, running parallel to the hedge which separated the parishes, and from 30 to 40 feet distant from it, were the remains of another hedge, consisting of a bank about 2 feet high, much broken in places, and still showing one or two thorn-bushes. The space between the two hedges was scattered over with hummocks of earth, from 2 to 4 or 5 feet high. The only explanation that presented itself was the following: that the boundary hedge was once on the west side of the dyke; that it was broken down and ruined by the farmers carting away the soil of the dyke; and that the new hedge was planted on the east side, where it was less exposed to injury. The steepness of the hill must have rendered the carting away of the soil difficult, and therefore may account for the heaps which still remain between the two hedges.

In advancing further northwards, the parish bounds led me between Gwaun-Ysgor and Golden Grove, where, according to Henry Griffiths, the Clawdd Offa ran, and finally carried me to the house of ill-omened name, where, according to Piers Jones, the Clawdd Offa terminated, and whence I had started in the morning. On the whole, I was satisfied with my two days' labour, and felt little doubt that I had correctly traced the Clawdd Offa from the Holywell Road, in Whitford parish, to the sea-shore at Uffern.

A third day was devoted to an attempt to find traces of the dyke between Whitford parish and the parish of Mold. With this object I proceeded from Mold to the village of Ysceifiog. But though I worked my way through a difficult country as far north as Plas Newydd, near the place where I had first seen the dyke, and though I put the whole country-side into a fever with my inquiries, I

got little or nothing for my pains. The day's labour led to no useful result.

My failure was, I suspect, owing to my taking a too westerly course. Pant y terfyn, Moel y Gaer, Moel yr Erio, &c., point out a line of country of better promise than the one I followed. I would venture to recommend it to the notice of any antiquary who has leisure for its examination. My own time was limited.

The suggestions I have thrown out as to the course which the dyke followed, in passing from Uffern to Mold, are strongly confirmed by the topography of the district. The Welsh word *terfyn* means a boundary; and, as we have seen, it is the very word used by the writer of the *Book of Basingwerk* to designate the Clawdd Offa. Now at a short distance from Uffern is a place which bears this name of *terfyn*, and there is a homestead of the same name about a mile west of the spot where the dyke now ends near Newmarket. Again, about a mile east of the dyke, near Whitford, is a place called *terfyn dwy dre*; and, lastly, we find a *pant terfyn*, on the line by which, as we have conjectured, the dyke passed from Whitford to Mold. The circumstance that some of the houses, &c., bearing this name of *terfyn* are found at a considerable distance from the dyke, is what might have been expected. The farms which approached nearest to the dyke, would probably take their names from so remarkable a feature of the neighbourhood, even though their homesteads were a mile or more distant from it.

It was evidently the intention of those who planned this boundary line, that from Whitford to the sea the Welshman should be confined to his Vale of Clwyd. Eastward of the dyke the land improves in quality till it reaches a high degree of fertility; westward the land is little better than an inclosed common, rising rapidly into the steep bleak hills which shut in that beautiful vale towards the east. The line of demarcation thus strongly marked had a suitable termination on the sea-coast at

Uffern. The dangerous sands lying off that place, must have been a terror to the small craft which navigated the estuary of the Dee in the eighth century, and a most formidable impediment in the way of the coasting traffic. If the object had been to draw a line, which should most distinctly separate two alien and hostile races, it could not have been attained more effectually than by the boundary which Offa made to separate the Welsh from his English subjects. There was as much of wisdom shown in the planning and laying out of this great earthwork—so far at least as regards that portion of it we have been considering—as there was of power and national resources shown in its construction.

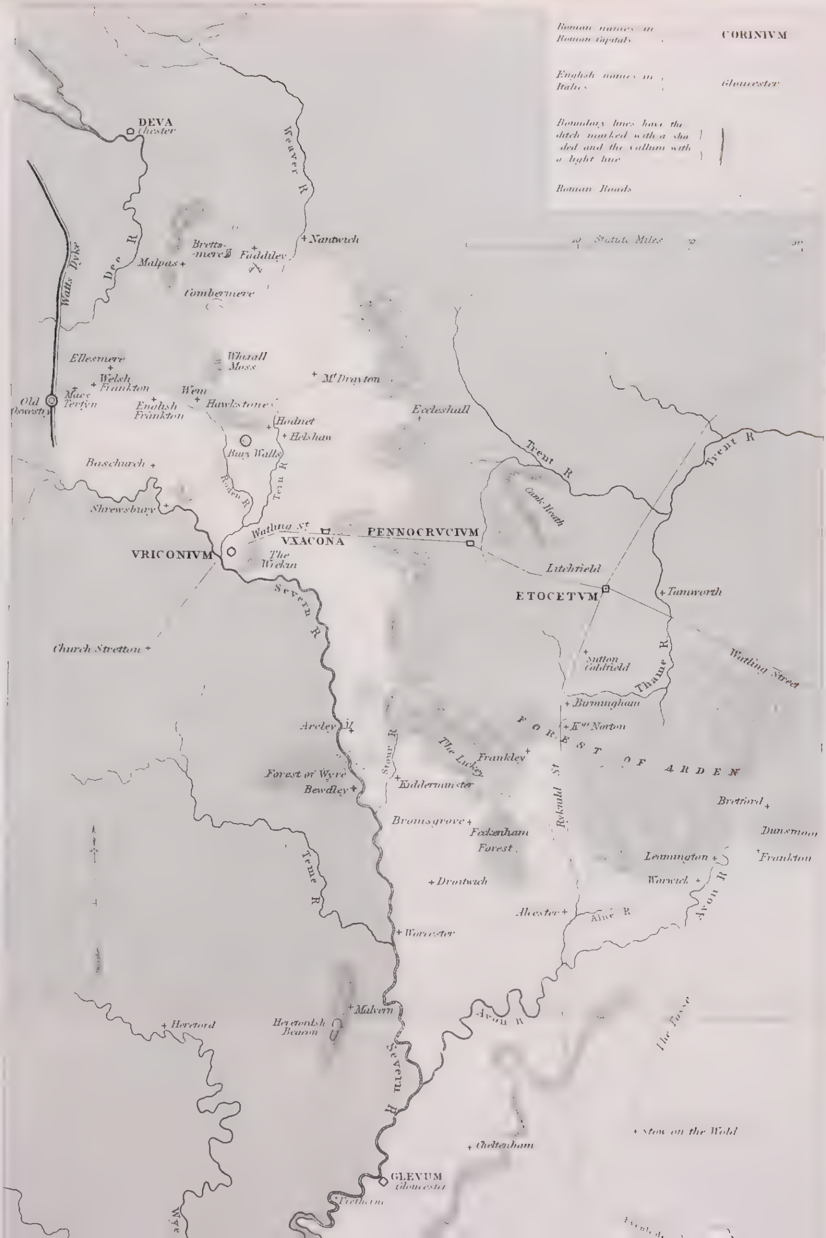
ENGLISH CONQUEST OF THE SEVERN VALLEY IN THE SIXTH CENTURY.

[A paper read at the Meeting of the Archaeological Institute at Gloucester, in 1860; and reprinted from the Archaeological Journal, vol. xix.]

Previously to the battle of Deorham, the whole basin of the Severn and a large portion of the Cotswold, that is of the high upland drained by the Thames, were in the possession of the Welshmen. Their great fortress to the eastward was Cirencester, and some of the later battles between them and their English neighbours had been fought on the line of country which lies between that town and Winchester. The marches separating the two races in this part of Britain, though they had been subjected to several changes, still remained on the whole much as they had been settled half a century before. But there is reason to believe that about the year 571 the kings of Wessex received an accession of strength, that enabled them to carry the war into the very heart of the Welsh territory. I do not stop to inquire whence came this increase of strength, but thereby they were enabled in the year last-mentioned to push their inroads as far north as Bedford, and six years afterwards to lead an army into the rich and beautiful valley, the conquest of which forms the subject of the present paper.

The nature of the country and the circumstances of the times enable us to point out with much probability the direction which the expeditionary force must have taken. It must have advanced along the Roman Road leading from Winchester to Cirencester, and then skirting the borders of Braden forest have reached the Fosse. Down this great highway they passed, ravaging—or, in the language of the times, *harrying*—the country right and left.

THE CONQUEST OF THE SEVERN VALLEY.




Shrewsbury
VRICONIVM
Watling St.
VXACONA
The Wrekin
PENNOCRVCIVM
Cank Heath
Litchfield
ETOCETVM
Tamworth
Watling Street
Severn R
Church Stretton
Sutton Coldfield
Thame R
Birmingham
Kings Norton
FOREST OF ARDEN
Areley
Stour R
The Lickey
Frankley
Forest or Wyre
Bewdley
Kidderminster
Bretford
Dunsmoor
Frankton
Bromsgrove
Feckenham Forest
Ryknild St
Leamington
Warwick
Teme R
Droitwich
Alcester
Alne R
Avon R
Worcester
Malvern
Herefordsh. Beacon
Hereford
The Fosse
Stow on the Wold
Cheltenham
GLEVUM
Gloucester
Tretherne
Evenlode R
Wye R
CORINIVM
Cirencester
Usk R
Thames R
Icknield Street
The Fosse
Malmesbury
CASTELLVM
Braden Forest
Roman Road leading to Silchester
Dearham
Castle Combe
The Ridgeway
Barbury Hill
Avon R
Bristol
Avebury
Marlborough
CASTELLVM
Laycock
AQVÆ SOLIS
Bath
VERLVCIO
CVNETIO
Kennet R
Wansdyke
Englishcomb
English Batch
Wallsmead
Weston Super Mare
Bradford
Devizes
Roman Road leading to Winchester
Mendip Hills
Axe R
The Fosse
Roman Rd leading to Old Sarum
Wallcombe
Wells
Avon R
Wiley R
Ilchester

West of the Fosse, and on a chain of hills which commands magnificent views of the Severn-valley, lies the village of Deorham. Near it is an ancient earthwork, where, as we may conjecture, the men of the neighbourhood had retreated with their cattle and other valuables, and where our ancestors were preparing to attack them, when the Welshmen came to the rescue, and the battle of Deorham was the result. It is thus commemorated in the Chronicle.

'A. 577. Now Cuthwine and Ceawlin fought with the Brits, and three kings they slew, Commagil and Condidan and Farinmagil in the place that is called Deorham, and they took three cities, Gleawan ceaster and Ciren ceaster and Bathan ceaster.'

Various conjectures have been hazarded with respect to the three kings whose deaths are here recorded. Sharon Turner and Villemarqué consider Condidan to be the same person as the Kyndylan whose death is bewailed in an old Welsh *marwnad*, or elegy, which we shall shortly have occasion to notice more particularly. But it appears clearly enough from the elegy that Kyndylan was slain near Shrewsbury, and therefore could not possibly be the Condidan who according to the Chronicle was slain at Deorham in Gloucestershire. Equally unsatisfactory are the attempts which have been made to identify the other two princes Commagil and Farinmagil. But there is one conjecture with respect to these princes which seems to merit attention, though I do not remember to have seen it noticed elsewhere. When we read that three kings were slain at Deorham, and that the three cities of Gloucester, Cirencester and Bath surrendered, it is a natural inference that the three Welsh princes were lords of the three cities, and that it was together with the men of these cities and of the dependent districts they fought and lost the battle of Deorham. It is matter of some little interest to know, that in all likelihood the last Welshman who bore rule in Gloucester was named Commagil, or—to give the name

its latinized form, which may have been to *him* the most familiar—Cunomagulus.

The conquest of Gloucester, Cirencester, and Bath must have made the whole valley of the Severn, east of the river and south of Arden, English ground. It is clear from existing remains that during the Roman period Bath was a wealthy and flourishing town; Gloucester, as we know both from Ravennas and from an inscription found at Bath, was a Roman colony; and with respect to Cirencester, there was probably no town at that time in Britain—York, London, and Colchester excepted—which in importance either civil or military could rank before it. These towns must have represented the district. With the exception of some insignificant road-side stations between Bath and the Severn-ferry, there is hardly another place in this part of Britain whose Roman name has come down to us. It is just possible that one of the Alaunae and one of the Salinae mentioned by Ravennas may have been intended for our modern Alchester and Droitwich, but they must have been places of little note, and quite unequal to stem the flood of invasion that had set in upon them. There was no spot where the poor Welshman could find a shelter till he reached the great forest-district which spread over the modern counties of Warwick and Worcester.

The southern limits of the new conquests may, I think, be defined with much precision[1], but in the north the limits can only be determined, and that vaguely, by a consideration of the topography and physical conditions of the country. Where there are so many elements of uncertainty it would be idle to discuss the reasons which led me to lay down the boundaries as they appear in the map. But I am well acquainted with the district, and reasons more or less satisfactory can be given for all the apparently strange wanderings of the pencil. They were not the result of mere accident or caprice.

[1] Vide Jour. of Arch. Inst., vol. xvi. p. 105; and the Essay printed above, pp. 242 seq.

The possession of Gloucester would naturally tempt our ancestors to cross the river. If we may trust Welsh legend, they carried their inroads, even at the early period of which we are treating, as far westward as the Wye. But the history of the English conquests west of the Severn involves questions of great difficulty, and cannot be discussed incidentally. To avoid premature discussion I have in the map marked all the country west of the river as Welsh territory.

Seven years after their first settlement in the Severn-valley our ancestors made another inroad upon the Welshmen. This inroad and the battle it led to forms the subject of the following entry.

'A. 584. Now Ceawlin and Cutha fought with the Brits in the place that is called *Fethan leag*, and there Cutha was slain, and Ceawlin took many towns and countless booty, and angry he turned him thence to his own country (*to his agenum*).'

In their accounts of this battle Ethelwerd, Florence, and Malmesbury merely copy the Chronicle. Huntingdon tells us that Cuthwine (the Cutha of the Chronicle) fell overpowered with numbers, and that the English were defeated and took to flight; but that Ceawlin again brought the army into order, and inspiring them with a stern determination, at length came off the conqueror[1].

I know not whence Huntingdon obtained his knowledge of these particulars, but there is so much that is probable in his story, that I would willingly receive it as true. Fordun labours hard to mix up Aidan King of Scots in all the leading events of this period. He makes him the ally of Maelgwn King of Gwynedd at the battle of Fethan leag[2], and the ally of Cadwallon at the battle of Wodensburgh[3], when Ceawlin was defeated. Unfortunately for the zealous Scotchman, Maelgwn died[4] nearly forty years before the

[1] '—rursus reparato exercitu cum fugam sui abjurassent, tandem praelio victores vicit.' Hist. Ang. 2.

[2] Scotichron. iii. 28. [3] Ib. iii. 29. [4] A.D. 547. *Ann. Cambriae.*

battle of Fethan leag, and Cadwallon flourished in the seventh instead of the sixth century. According to Fordun[1] the battle of Fethan leag was fought at Stanemore in Westmoreland. The motive which led him to fix on this locality is an obvious one. On Stanemore is 'the Rie Cross,' which certain Scotch writers maintain to be the ancient and proper *limes*[2] between Scotland and England. It was accordingly selected as a suitable place for a meeting between a Scottish king and the invading Southron. But it would be waste of time to dwell longer on these fables.

Henry and Hume represent Somerset and Devon as the scene of Ceawlin's conquests, and therefore I presume would locate Fethan leag in one or other of these counties; while our later historians[3], almost to a man, identify Fethan leag with Fretherne near Gloucester. I know of no reason for fixing on this locality, except the resemblance supposed to exist between the words *Fretherne* and *Fethan*. But who can point out any known process of corruption by which Fethan could be transformed into Fretherne? Moreover, if we suppose Fretherne to be the place of the battle, where can we find room for the 'many towns and countless booty' that were taken after the victory? What significance can we give to the statement that 'after the battle Ceawlin turned

[1] Scotichron. iii. 28.

[2] Ussher, whose great demerit is the deference he occasionally shows to our historical romancers, after describing the incidents of the battle of Fethan leag as he found them in the Chronicle and Huntingdon, quotes Fordun as his authority for fixing the locality at Stanemore. Ant. c. 14. Chalmers, whose great object is to bring his Scotchmen as far south as possible, tells us that 'coming to the aid of the Cumbrian Britons, Aidan defeated the Saxons at Fethanlea, at Stanemore in 584,' and he gives as his authority, not his countryman Fordun, but 'Saxon Chron. p. 22, Ussher's Princ., pp. 870, 1147, which quotes the English Chronicles.' Vide Caledonia, i. 282. Frauds of the same kind may be found in every third or fourth page of Chalmers' History.

[3] Sh. Turner, H. of Anglo-Saxons, 1, 3, 5; Lingard, H. of Anglo-Saxons, 12; Lappenberg, Anglo-Saxon Kings; B. Thorpe, Flor. Vigorn. S. n; Mon. Hist. Brit. Sax. Chron., p. 304, &c. I should mention that the editors of the last mentioned work append a query—'Frethern?' Mr. Thorpe, who hesitates about 'Deorham in Gloucestershire?' has no difficulty about Fretherne; 'the place of the battle was Fretherne in Gloucestershire.'

him thence to his own country?' Fretherne was situated in the very heart of the district conquered by the English seven years previously. It lay in the midst of the triangle dominated by the three great fortresses of Gloucester, Bath, and Cirencester, and when they fell must necessarily have fallen with them.

Where then must we look for the place which has given rise to so much conflicting statement? Before we answer the question, it will be necessary to notice a law, which prevails very widely in English topography, and to which I have already on more than one occasion called the attention of the reader. Anglo-Saxon names of places are, almost universally, feminine nouns ending in *e* and forming the genitive case in *an*. When connected with other words, they generally appear as genitives, but sometimes combine with these words and form simple compounds. Thus the Welsh *Glou*[1], which in Roman geography takes the form of Glev-um, was converted by our ancestors, according to the genius of *their* language into Glew-e, and they called the town sometimes *Glewan ceaster*, that is, the chester or city of *Glew-e*, and sometimes *Glewe-ceaster*, of which Gloucester is the corruption. Now, in Anglo-Saxon topography, the genitival form was used in the great majority of instances, but in modern usage the simple compound prevails almost to its entire exclusion. There are indeed a few names of places which still retain the genitive. Thus Cheltenham is certainly a corruption of *Celtan ham*, the hamlet of the *Celt-e*—*Celt-e* being no doubt the Anglo-Saxon name for the Chelt, the river, or rather brook, which flows through Cheltenham. Instances, however, of these genitival forms are now extremely rare. They have in almost all cases given way to the simple compounds.

The reader will now have little hesitation in recognizing a genitive case in the first element of the name *Fethan leag*, and, in considering such name as equivalent to The lea of Feth-e. If we suppose the place still to retain its ancient

[1] Kair Glou, id est, Gloueceastria. H. Hunt. lib. I.

appellation, the name would according to analogy take the form of a simple compound, Fethe-ley. In certain of our dialects *th* in the middle of a word is often represented by *d*; thus, in the North of England, for *father*, *mother*, *another*, &c., they very commonly say *fader*, *modder*, *anudder*, &c. If the place we are in search of were situated in one of these districts, we might expect to find its name modified accordingly.

Now, just within the borders of Cheshire, at the entrance of the Vale Royal, and some three miles west of Namptwich, is a village called Faddiley. In the neighbourhood of this village I believe the battle of Fethan leag was fought.

Of course identity of name does not necessarily prove identity of place. Let us, then, inquire how far the selection of Faddiley, as the place of this battle will meet the requirements of the story, as they may be gathered from the Chronicle.

If the battle were fought at Faddiley, Ceawlin must have advanced up the Severn valley, and entered Shropshire somewhere in the neighbourhood of Areley Magna. Thence he must have marched to the Tern, and up the valley of that river to the borders of Cheshire; and crossing the line of watershed, he would, a few miles further on, find himself at Faddiley. Such was the most direct route to Faddiley from the Vale of Gloucester, and such I believe to have been the only practicable route at the time in question. Now the valley of the Tern is the very heart of Shropshire, a district full of rich pastures and peopled villages, and abounding in ancient remains, both Roman and British, which show that its advantages were as highly appreciated in the sixth as they are in the nineteenth century. Here, then, we have a country, which might readily furnish the 'many towns and countless booty' mentioned in the Chronicle; and as Faddiley is some ninety miles distant from Gloucester, the statement that after the battle Ceawlin 'turned him thence to his own country,' has an appropriate meaning. Even the strange statement that he returned in

anger, seems to admit of explanation, on the hypothesis that has been started. If we suppose that in the ardour of success some of his officers pushed on unbidden into the Vale Royal, and so exposed themselves to an attack from Chester, we can understand the anger which Ceawlin must have felt at an act of imprudence that led to the loss of a brother, and might, but for the energy with which he hurried to the rescue, have led to the destruction of an army.

Let us now see how far the conclusions we have arrived at agree with the revelations which are furnished us by the light of Welsh tradition. Unsubstantial forms they are, but they may nevertheless be the shadows of real and substantial history.

There is extant an old Welsh *marwnad*, or elegy, which bewails the death of a certain Welsh prince named Kyndylan. The poem is generally ascribed to Llywarch Hen, who is said to have lived in the sixth century. It was edited by Owen Pughe, chiefly it would seem from the Red Book of Herghest, a MS. of the fourteenth century, now the property of Jesus College[1], Oxford; and was published by him, first, in the Myvyrian Archaeology, and secondly, with a translation in a separate volume, which contains a collection of Llywarch Hen's poems. It was afterwards edited likewise with a translation by Villemarqué, in his 'Bardes Brétons,' professedly[2] from the Black Book of Caermarthen, a MS. of the twelfth century. The first editor modernized the orthography, and frequently altered the wording of his MS.; and as one-third of his translation

[1] The courtesy with which this society have at all times made it available for the purposes of literature, is too well known to need any eulogy from me.

[2] 'Comme les autres pièces de Liwarc'h celle-ci est tirée du Livre noir de Hengurt, confronté avec le Livre rouge de Herghest.' Bardes Brétons, p. 124. The Black Book, generally known as the Black Book of Caermarthen, is the most valuable of the Hengwrt MSS. This celebrated collection, which formerly belonged to the Vaughan family, is now the property of Mr. Wynne of Peniarth, M.P for Merionethshire. It is matter of public interest to know that these precious relics are now in the possession of a gentleman who most thoroughly appreciates their value.

is open to question, these are liberties which a critical reader will be slow to pardon. But if the reader be dissatisfied with Owen Pughe's edition, the edition of Villemarqué is little likely to secure his confidence. The peculiarities of the language must, I should think, arrest the attention of every one that has studied the comparative grammar of the Celtic dialects; and the perplexities they occasioned me were so great, that I was at last driven to take a journey into Merionethshire, with the view of comparing the printed text with its supposed original. I went over the Black Book, page by page, but could find in it *no trace whatever* of the Elegy on Kyndylan. There were three poems in the MS. with which the name of Llywarch Hen was connected, but only in occasional stanzas did they exhibit any correspondence with the poems that appear in Villemarqué's volume. I mention the fact, but offer no explanation of it. When I add, that Owen Pughe in his edition of the Marwnad frequently gives us various readings, taken professedly from the Black Book (Llyfyr du), the reader will probably agree with me in thinking, that any attempt to unravel these difficulties had better be postponed to a more fitting opportunity.

As the copy of the poem in the Red Book is the oldest I am acquainted with, I have taken it for my text; and in so doing, have been anxious to give a transcript of the MS., which shall be correct, not merely to the letter, but also as regards the junction of words, and the punctuation, blundered though it may be. The only liberty I have taken has been in ranging the lines rhythmically, whereas the MS. has the lines in each triplet written continuously.

My own translation is intended to be *literal.* In the versions of Owen Pughe and Villemarqué we frequently have the second person instead of the third, verbs inserted *ad libitum*, and the rendering in very many cases so loose, that it is impossible to say what construction they have put upon the original. We are sometimes at a loss to

know what is the meaning they wish to convey by their translation, and even when the meaning of a triplet taken by itself is tolerably clear, it is often difficult to discover its relevancy, or its connexion with the triplet preceding or succeeding. Some of these difficulties may be inherent in the poem itself, as it has come down to us. We know from Giraldus Cambrensis, and it might be easily shown from existing MSS., that many of these old Welsh poems were subjected to great alterations at the hands of successive transcribers. Triplets were transposed and interpolated, and it is quite possible that Llywarch Hen would only occasionally recognize his own handywork in the poem before us. Still, however, the transcriber of the fourteenth century must have seen a certain coherency between the several portions of the poem he was copying; and one part of the duty of a translator will be to point out such coherency as far as he is able. I trust that the present translation, literal though it be, will present to the reader a more intelligible and connected story than can be gathered from the preceding ones.

The poem is written in what is termed the *triban milwr*, or soldier's triplet, that is, in the oldest known form of Welsh versification. Its style is essentially lyrical. One of its peculiarities distinguishes all the poems of Llywarch Hen, or rather I would say distinguishes that school of poetry of which Llywarch Hen was the type—I mean the custom of beginning several consecutive stanzas or triplets, sometimes to the number of ten or more, with the same ejaculatory phrase, which forms as it were the key-note of the stanza. The same images often recur, and the same thought is often presented in slightly varying forms in these consecutive triplets, and owing to such parallelism, we may not unfrequently discover the meaning of a line, which might otherwise occasion us much difficulty. Sometimes the sentence proceeds in the second person, 'Kyndylan, thou wert, &c.;' but more frequently in the third, 'Kyndylan, he was, &c.' In many cases no verb whatever can

be discovered, and the triplet is made up of mere ejaculations.

I have appended to my translation copious notes explaining the grounds on which it rests, and affording the reader the means of correcting it when erroneous. A translation of one of these old poems without such accompaniment has always seemed to me to be little better than a fraud upon the reader.

In the opening stanzas the aged poet imagines himself escaping with the females of his family from the scene of carnage. He has reached some eminence, and rests awhile to contemplate the ruin of his country. The mangled body of his slaughtered chieftain first rises to his view; but he shrinks from the image he has conjured up, and chooses rather to picture him at the head of his Welshmen watching the invaders from the mountain's slope, it may be from the sides of the Wrekin, till goaded by the cries and taunts of his injured countrymen, the fiery chief rushes down upon our ancestors, and meets his death at their hands upon the plain.

Sefvch allan vorynnion[1] asyllvch werydre gyndylan: llys benn gvern neut tande: gvae ieueinc[2] aeidun brotre.	1	Stand forth, maidens, and survey the land of Kyndylan, Pengwern's palace, is it not in flames? Woe to the youth that longs for good fellowship!
Vnprenn agouit[3] arnav odieinc[4] ys odit: ae auynno[5] duv derffit.	2	One tree[6] with the tendril on it Is escaping it may be— But what God shall have willed, let it come!

[1] *Morwyn*, W. *ion* pl. The frequent absorption of the *w* is a marked feature in the language of this poem. Vide *amucsei*, st. 5, *iv*, st. 15, &c.

[2] Both O. Pughe and Villemarqué make this a plural noun. But the plural form seems occasionally to have been used with a singular meaning. Vide *Youonc*, Norris' Corn. Voc. The verb is certainly singular.

[3] O. Pughe, without authority, substituted for this word *gwydd-vid* the woodbine, and in so doing is followed by Villemarqué. I take the last syllable of *gouit* to be the same as the last syllable of *gwydd-vid*, and *go* to be the diminutive prefix we find in *go-bant*, *go-vron*, &c.

[4] *dianc*, W. The Breton *o* prefixed to infinitives gives them a participial meaning like the Welsh *yn*.

[5] *myn-u*, W., 2nd future, 3rd pers. sing.

[6] That is, himself and family. As Shropshire was an *argoed*, or woodland, these similes are characteristic and appropriate. Vide st. 16, 45.

Kynndylan callon iaen gaeaf :
awant tvrch trvy y benn :
tu[1] arodeist yr cvrrvf trenn.

3 Kyndylan, with heart like the ice of Winter
With thrust of wild boar[2] through his head—
Thou[3] hast dispensed the ale of Tren!

Kynndylan callon godeith wannwyn.
ogyflo[4] yn amgyuyeith[5].
yn amwyn tren tref diffeith.

4 Kyndylan, with heart like the fire[6] of Spring,
By the common oath, in the midst of the common speech[7],
Defending Tren that wasted town!

Kyndylan befyrbost kywlat.
kadvynavc[8] kit[9] dynnyavc cat.
amucsei[10] tren tref y dat.

5 Kyndylan, bright pillar of his country,
Chain-bearer, obstinate in fight,
Protected Tren his father's town!

Kyndylan beuyrbvyll[11] ovri[12].
kadvynavc kynndynnyavc llu :
amucsei tren hyt travu.

6 Kyndylan, bright intelligence departed,
Chain-bearer, obstinate in the host,
Protected Tren as long as he was living.

Kyndylan callon milgi
pan disgynnei[13] ygkymelri[14] cat :
calaned[15] aladei[16].

7 Kyndylan with heart of greyhound,
When he descended to the turmoil of battle,
A carnage he carved out.

Kyndylan callon hebavc.
buteir[17] ennwir gynndeiryavc[18].
keneu kyndrvyn kyndynyavc.

8 Kyndylan with heart of hawk,
Was the true enraged
Cub of Kyndruyn, the stubborn one.

[1] This word is not clearly written in the MS. O. Pughe reads *ti*, but without authority. Vide *peithuac*, st. 28. *Rhodd-i*, W.

[2] That is the English enemy. O. Pughe makes *Tvrch* a proper name!

[3] The change from the third to the second person is remarkable. It seems to intimate a sudden change of feeling on the part of the poet.

[4] *cyflw*, W.

[5] *gyfiaith*, W. I have endeavoured to give the force of the prefix *am*.

[6] The *goddaith*, or fire kindled in spring to consume the dried gorse, was subjected to many regulations by the Welsh laws.

[7] That is, in the midst of his Welshmen.

[8] *cadwynawg*, W.

[9] The prefix *cyd*; in modern Welsh the compound would take the form of *cyndyneawg*. This form actually occurs in the next stanza.

[10] *amwisg-aw*, W., to wrap round, to shroud. The *w* is absorbed, vide st. 1, note 1, and the letters *sg* are transposed.

[11] *pefyr*, W. *pwyll*, W.

[12] *obry*, W.

[13] *discyn-u*, W.

[14] *cymhelri*, W. The *g* 'eclipses' the *k* in *gkymelri*, as it does the *c* in *gcallon*, st. 17. In like manner we have the *t* eclipsed by *n* in *ntauavt*, st. 46. This orthographical expedient, though now confined to the Irish, was at one time very generally used in other languages. Vide the author's paper on Orthogr. Expedients, Phil. Trans. vol. iii. p. 1. Before a guttural, *yn* appears to lose its final *n*; *y-gkymelri*, st. 7, *y-goet*, st. 35, &c. Before a labial, *yn* becomes *ym*; vide *ympriffvch*, st. 9, *ymbed*, st. 22, *ymbronn*, st. 52, &c.

[15] *celanedd*, W.

[16] *ladd*, W.

[17] *byddai 'r*, W.

[18] *cynddeiriawg*, W.

Kyndylan callon gvythhwch pan disgynnei ympriffvch[1] cat. kalaned yndeudrvch.	9 Kyndylan with heart of wild-boar, When he descended to the onset of battle, There was carnage in two heaps[2].
Kyndylan gulhvch[3] gynnificat llev. blei dilin[4] disgynniat : nyt atuer[5] tvrch tref y[6] dat.	10 Kyndylan, hungry boar, ravager, lion, Wolf fast-holding of descent— The wild boar will not give back his father's town[7]!
Kyndylan hyt tra attat yd adei. y gallon mor wylat[8]: gantav[9] mal y gvrvf[10] y cat.	11 Kyndylan! while towards thee fled His heart, 'twas a great festival With him, like the press of the battle!
Kyndylan powis borffor wych yt : kell esbyt bywyt ior[11] : keneu kyndrvyn kvynitor.	12 Kyndylan of the Powis purple gallant is he! The strangers' refuge, their life's anchor, Son of Kyndruyn, the much to be lamented!
Kyndylan wynn uab kyndrvyn : ny mat[12] wisc baraf am y drvyn : gvr ny bo gvell no morwyn.	13 Kyndylan, fair son of Kyndruyn[13], No fitting garb is the beard about the nose— Will a man be no better than a maid?

[1] *priffvch*, the first push, the onset; *hwch*, W., a push.

[2] That is, I suppose, right and left. *trwch*, W., means a cut, a thickness, a depth. Perhaps a better rendering would be, in two *swathes*.

[3] *goulo*, Bret. empty; *gul* may be a connected word.

[4] I consider this word to be the root of *dylyn-u*, to cleave to, just as *glyn*, adherent, is the root of *glyn-u*.

[5] *adver-u*, W.

[6] One difficulty in translating the poems in the Red Book arises from the different words represented by this letter. Here it evidently represents the Welsh *ei*.

[7] Stanzas 7, 8, 9 describe, it would seem, Kyndylan's rush down the mountain. From st. 10 we learn the result; the wild-boar, *i. e.* the English enemy, will not give back, &c.

[8] *gwylad*, W. [9] *gant*, Bret. [10] *gwryf*, W.

[11] *eor*, Bret. *heor*, W. [12] *mad*, Bret.

[13] In stanzas 11, 12, the poet describes the large heart and noble sympathies of his chieftain. The two following stanzas, according to my rendering, contain the taunts which Llywarch addressed to Kyndylan, in order to induce him to rush down to his rescue. In stanzas 15, 16, Llywarch's better nature gets the upper hand, and he bids his chief watch for the *general* welfare, and leave him to his fate. Throughout the poem Llywarch represents himself as the cause of his chieftain's death. Vide st. 46, 57, &c. The association which connects the stanzas 13, 14, with the two preceding ones is not very easily traced. The mention of Kyndylan's generosity seems to have reminded the poet of the circumstances under which he last claimed that prince's aid; and the past comes before him with all the vividness of present reality.

Kyndylan kymvyat[1] vyt:
ar meithyd[2] na bydy lyvt[3]:
amdrebvll[4] tvll[5] dy ysgvyt.

14 Kyndylan! a cause of grief thou art—
Set forward will not be the array,
Around the pressure of the covert of thy shield!

Kynddylan kaedi yriv.
ynydav[6] lloegyrwys hediw:
amgeled am vn nydiv[7].

15 Kyndylan, keep thou the slope,
Till the Loegyrwys come to-day,—
Anxiety on account of *one* is not fitting.

Kyndylan kaedi ynenn.
ynydav lloegyrwys drvy dren:
ny elwir coet o vn prenn.

16 Kyndylan, keep thou the top[8]
Till the Loegyrwys come through Tren—
'Tis not called a wood for *one* tree!

Gan vy gcallon · i · mor dru[9].
kyssylltu ystyllot[10] du:
gvynn gnavt kindylan kyngran[11] canllu.

17 My heart has great misery
In joining together the black boards—
Fair is the flesh of Kyndylan, the common grief of a hundred hosts!

Pengwern, as is well known, was the old Welsh name for Shrewsbury, and accordingly at Shrewsbury we must fix the *Llys Pengwern.* The attempt to identify the town of Tren will raise questions more difficult to answer, and which had better be deferred till we come to consider what is meant by 'the White Town,' of which we shall find mention made further on in the poem. *Lloegyr* is the Welsh name from England, and that *Lloegyr-wys* meant the men of England, or in other words our own ancestors, seems clear enough, though even on this point Owen Pughe has contrived to raise a difficulty. In his dictionary he tells us 'the English or the inhabitants of modern Lloegyr are always called Saeson and never Lloegyrwys after the name of the country.' It would be easy to disprove this assertion from other poems which Owen Pughe has edited; but in truth there are always abundant means at hand of setting Owen Pughe at issue with himself. In the preface to his

[1] *cymhwyad*, W.

[2] I have construed *ar meithyd* as if it were a derivative of *arfaeth.* This latter word is compounded of *ar* and *maeth.*

[3] *llwydd*, W. [4] *traffwyll*, W. [5] *tuell*, W.

[6] *daw*, W. 3rd pers. sing. fut. of *daw-ed.* The subst. aggr. *lloegyrwys* seems here to be put in agreement with a verb singular. Vide p. 300, n 10.

[7] *gwiw*, W. Vide p. 292, n. 1.

[8] That is, keep your post on the mountain till the enemy attacks you.

droug, Bret. [10] *estell*, W. [11] *graen*, W.

edition of this very poem, he describes the Lloegyrwys as 'probably Saxons and Roman Britons united;' and Villemarqué, following his lead, calls them 'les forces combinées des Saxons et des Logriens.' Neither of these writers advances a single argument to show there really was any such combination of forces, and I can see no good reason why the Lloegyrwys who invaded Shropshire, might not have been as free from Welsh admixture, as their ancestors who landed ninety years before in Southampton water.

The triplets which follow those we have quoted furnish us with the sequel of the tragedy. They bring successively before us the ruined hall, the eagles sailing over the field of battle, the rescue of the body, and the secret burial.

Stauell gyndylan ystywyll heno heb dan heb wely : wylaf[1] wers[2], tawaf[3] wedy.	18 Kyndylan's Hall is dark to-night, Without fire, without bed ! I'll weep awhile, afterwards I shall be silent.
Stauell gyndylan ystywyll heno heb dan heb gannwyll : namyn duv pvy[4] am dyry[5] pvyll.	19 Kyndylan's Hall is dark to-night, Without fire, without candle ! God except, who will give me patience !
Stauell gyndylan ystywyll heno. heb dan heb oleuat[6] : elit[7] amdav amdanat.	20 Kyndylan's Hall is dark to-night, Without fire, without light— Let there come spreading silence around thee !
Stauell gyndylan ystywyll y nenn. gvedy gven gyweithyd[8] : gvae nywna[9] da aedyuyd[10].	21 Kyndylan's Hall ! dark is its roof After the fair assemblage ! Alas, it makes not well its end !
Stauell gyndylan neut athwyt[11] hebwed. mae imbed[12] dy yscvyt : hyt tra uu[13] ny bu doll[14] glvyt[15].	22 Kyndylan's Hall, art thou not bereft of seemliness ? In the grave is thy shield ! As long as he was living, there was no break in the shingle.

[1] *gwyl-aw*, W. [2] *gwers*, W.

[3] *taw*, W. *tav*. Bret., silence. The *verb* seems to be now obsolete in both languages. [4] *pwy*, W. [5] *dyro-i*, W. [6] *goleuad*, W.

[7] *el-u*, W.; imp. mood. [8] *cyweithydd*, W. [9] *gwn-a*, W.

[10] *dyfeth*, W. [11] *ath-u*, W. [12] *imbed*. Vide p. 204, n. 4.

[13] This must be read *vu*, or, in Welsh orthography, *fu*. Generally the *v*'s in this MS. are to be pronounced as *u*'s, and the *u*'s as *v*'s.

[14] *tawl*, W. [15] *clawd*, W.

Stauell gyndylan ys dygaryat[1] heno.
gwedy yr neb pieuat[2]
——— [3] a angheu[4] byrr ymgat[5].

23 Kyndylan's Hall is forlorn to-night,
Since there has been no one owning it—
—— ah! death will not leave me long!

Stauell gyndylan nyt esmvyth heno.
arben carrec hytwyth:
heb ner. heb niner heb amvyth[6].

24 Kyndylan's Hall is not pleasant to-night,
On the top of Carrec Hytwyth[7]—
Without Lord, without company, without feast!

Stauell gyndylan ystywyll heno.
heb dan heb gerdeu[8]:
dygystud[9] deurud[10] dagreu.

25 Kyndylan's Hall is gloomy to-night
Without fire, without songs—
Tears are the trouble of my cheeks!

Stauell gyndylan ystywyll heno.
——————— [11] heb deulu.
hedyl men yt gynnu[12].

26 Kyndylan's Hall is gloomy to-night
——————— [11] without family—

Stauell gyndylan amgvan[13] y gvelet.
heb doet[14] heb dan:
marv vyglyv[15]. buv[16] muhunan[17].

27 Kyndylan's Hall pierces me to see it,
Without roof, without fire ——
Dead is my chief, myself alive!

Stauell gyndylan ys peithuac[18] heno.
gvedy ketwyr[19] uodavc[20]:
eluan kyndylan kaeavc.

28 Kyndylan's Hall lies waste to-night,
After warrior's contented—
Elvan, Kyndylan, Kaeauc!

Stauell gyndylan ys oergrei[21] heno.
gvedy y parch ambuei[22]:
heb wyr heb wraged[23] ae catwei.

29 Kyndylan's Hall is piercing cold to-night,
After the honor that befell me—
Without the men, without the women it sheltered!

[1] *digariad*, W. [2] *piau*, W.

[3] I cannot well make this word out. Villemarqué quotes the Red Book as reading *wi*. The word may possibly be *ywi*.

[4] *ankou*, Bret. [5] *ymgad-u*, W. [6] *ammwyth*, W.

[7] This seems to have been the old Welsh name of the Castle-Hill at Shrewsbury.

[8] *cerdd*, W. Pl. *cerddi*. Vide n. 18.

[9] *dygystudd*, W. [10] *deurudd*, W.

[11] Some words have evidently been omitted in the MS.

[12] I cannot construe this line. [13] *gwan-u*, W.

[14] *toad*, W. [15] *glyw*, W. [16] *byw*, W. [17] *myhunan*, W.

[18] *peithiawg*, W. *u* seems occasionally to take the place of one of the narrow vowels, *i*, *y*, &c. Vide *muhunan*, st. 27; *tu* for *ti*, st. 3; *vgverin* for *ei gwerin*, st. 54, &c.

[19] *cadwr*, W. *cedwyr*, pl. [20] *boddawg*, W. [21] *oergrai*, W.

[22] *buai*, W. The pluperfect tense seems to have been used occasionally with the sense of the perfect. Vide *llewssei*, st. 34.

[23] *gwraig*, W. *gwreigedd*, pl.

Stauell gyndylan ys araf heno.
gvedy colli y hinaf :
y mavr drugauc duv pawnaf[1].

30 Kyndylan's Hall is still to-night,
After the losing of its Elder—
The great ——[2] God! what shall I do?

Stauell gyndylan ystywyll y nenn.
gvedy dyua oloegyrwys :
kyndylan ac eluan powys.

31 Kindylan's Hall! gloomy is its roof,
Since the destruction by the Loegyrwys
Of Kyndylan and Elvan of Powis.

Stauell gyndylan ystywyll heno.
oblaat kyndrwyn :
kynon agviavn agvyn.

32 Kyndylan's Hall is gloomy to-night
On account of the children of Kyndruyn—
Kynon, and Gwiaun and Gwyn.

Stauell gyndylan amerwan[3], pobawr
gvedy mavr ymgynyrdan[4].
aweleis av dy beñtan.

33 Kyndylan's Hall pierces me every hour—
After the great gathering din at the fire
Which I saw at thy[5] fire-hearth!

Eryr eli ban ylef[6]
llewssei[7] gvyr llynn :
creu callon kyndylan wynn.

34 Eli's eagle, loud his cry,
He has swallowed fresh drink,
Heart-blood of Kyndylan fair!

Eryr eli gorelwi[8] heno
y[9] gvaet gvyr gvynn novi[10] :
ef ygoet[11] trvm hoet ymi.

35 Eli's eagle screams aloud to-night,
In the blood of fair men he wallows!
He is in the wood[12]—a heavy grief to me!

Eryr eli aglywaf[13] heno.
creulyt yv nys beidyaf[14].
ef ygoet tvrvm[15] hoet arnaf.

36 Eli's eagle I hear to-night—
Bloody is he—I defy not[16]—
He is in the wood, a heavy grief to me!

[1] *gwna*, W.

[2] Owen Pughe reads *drugaraug*, but I do not know on what authority; and Villemarqué, following him, has *trugarok*. These words of course represent the Welsh *trugarawg*, merciful. I cannot construe *drugauc*.

[3] *erwan-u*, W.

[4] O. Pughe translates this word by 're-echoing clamour,' Villemarqué by 'tumulte.' *Dyar* means a din; and supposing this word compounded with *cy* the *d* would be changed to *n*, and we might account for the two middle syllables of *ymgynyrdan*: the prefix *ym* would further give us *ymgynyr*, a surrounding din. The last syllable is I suppose the Welsh *tan*. If so it should be written as a distinct word.

[5] The change of person does not admit of an easy explanation.

[6] *llef*, W.

[7] *llew-a*, W.; pluperfect, 3 sing. Vide *buei*, st. 29.

[8] *goralw*, W. 3 sing. old form.

[9] Vide *ygkymelri*, st. 7.

[10] *nofi-aw*; 3 sing. old form.

[11] Vide *ygkymelri*, st. 7.

[12] *i.e.* in his coffin.

[13] *clyw-ed*, W.

[14] *beiddiaw*, W.

[15] I take this to be the same word as *trvm* in st. 35, though with a different orthography.

[16] This and the twelve following triplets contain, as I construe them, a mere outpouring of despair. In his prostration, the poet bids welcome to the evils that are overwhelming him.

Eryr eli gorthrymet[1] heno.
dyffrynt meissir mygedavc;
dir brochuael hir rigodet[2].

37 Eli's eagle let him afflict to-night
Meissir's[3] vale illustrious—
Brochmael's[4] land! — long let him affront it!

Eryr eli echeidv[5] myr.
nythreid[6] pyscavt[7] ynebyr.
gelvit[8] gvelit[9] owaet gwyr.

38 Eli's eagle keeps the seas;
He will not course the fish in the river's mouth[10]—
Let him call—let him look out for the blood of *men*!

Eryr eli gorymda coet.
kyuore kinyaua[11]:
ae llavch[12] llvydit[13] ydraha[14].

39 Eli's eagle traverses the wood
At dawn to feast——
His greed—may his boldness prosper it!

Eryr penngvern penngarn llvyt.
aruchel yatles[15].
eidic amgic.

40 Pengwern's eagle with the grey horn-beak,
Very loud his echoing voice
Eager for the flesh, &c.[16].

Eryr penngvern penngarn llvrt.
aruchel y euan[17].
eidic amgic[18] kyndylan.

41 Pengwern's eagle with the grey horn-beak,
Very loud his call of defiance
Eager for Kyndylan's flesh!

Eryr pengvern pengarn llvyt.
aruchel y adaf[19]
eidic amgic agaraf.

42 Pengwern's eagle with the grey horn-beak,
Very loud his clamour.
Eager for the flesh of him I love!

Eryr pengvern pell galwavt[20] heno.
arwaet gvyr gvylat[21]:
ry gelwir trenn tref difavt[22].

43 Pengwern's eagle! from afar is his call to-night—
For the blood of men is his look out—
Truly will Tren be called the ruined town!

[1] *gorthrym-u*, W.; imp. m. 3 sing.

[2] *rhigodd-i*, W.; imp. m. 3 sing.

[3] *Meissir*, as we gather from the latter part of the poem, was Kyndylan's sister.

[4] This must be the celebrated Brochmael Ysgythrawg, King of Powis.

[5] *cadw*, W. [6] *treidiaw*, W. [7] *pysgod*, W. [8] *galw*, W. [9] *gyliaw*, W.

[10] The meaning seems to be, usually he keeps the seas, *now* he does not chase the fish, but looks out for the blood of men.

[11] *ciniawa*, W. [12] *llawg*, W. [13] *llwydd-aw*, W. [14] *traha*, W.

[15] *adlais*, W. [16] Some words are here evidently omitted in the MS.

[17] I have construed this word as if it were a derivative of *hew*. O. Pughe, in his edition, spells it *ieuan*. There is an adjective *ieuin*, clamorous.

[18] *cig*, W. [19] *aedd*, W., a din; *adaf* may be a derivative.

[20] A derivative of *galw*. [21] A derivative of *gwel-ed*.

[22] *difoed*, W.

Evyr penngvern pell gelwit heno.
arwaet gvyr gvelit:
ry gelwir trenn tref lethrit[1].

44 Pengwern's eagle! from afar let him call to-night—
For the blood of men let him look out—
Truly will Tren be called the town of flame!

Eglvysseu bassa yorffvwys[2] heno.
ydiwedd[3] ymgynnvys[4].
cledyr[5] kat callon argoetwis.

45 Bassa's Churches! there rests to-night—
There ends—there shrinks within himself,
He, that was the Shelter in battle—
Heart of the men of Argoet[6]!

Eglvysseu bassa ynt faeth heno.
vyntauavt[7] ae gvnaeth[8]:
rud ynt vy rwy vy hiraeth.

46 Bassa's churches are enriched to-night—
My tongue hath done it!
Ruddy[9] are they, overflowing my grief!

Eglvysseu bassa ynt yng heno.
yetiued kyndrvyn:
tir mablan kyndylan wynn.

47 Bassa's churches are close neighbouring to-night
To the heir of Kyndruyn—
Grave-yard of Kyndylan fair!

Eglvysseu bassa ynt tirion heno.
ygvnaeth eu meillyon[10]:
rud ynt vy. rvy vyngeallon[11]

48 Bassa's churches are lovely to-night—
Their clover hath made them so—
Ruddy are they, overflowing my heart!

Eglvysseu bassa collasant eu breint[12].
gvedy y dyua o loegyrwys:
kyndylan ac eluan powys.

49 Bassa's churches have lost their privilege
Since the destruction by the Loegyrwys
Of Kyndylan and Elvan of Powys.

Eglvysseu bassa ynt diua heno.
ychetwyr[13] ny phara[14].
gvyr awyr ami yma.

50 Bassa's churches are to make an end to-night—
The warriors are not to continue—
He knows who knoweth all things, and I here know.

Eglvisseu bassa ynt baruar[15] heno.
aminneu wyf dyar:
nid ynt vy rvy vyggalar[16].

51 Bassa's churches are still to-night—
And I am to cry!
They[17] are not—overflowing is my lament.

[1] *llethrid*, W. [2] *gorffowys*, W. [3] *diwedd-u*, W.
[4] *ymgynnwys-aw*, W. [5] *cledwr*, W.
[6] The Welsh seem to have given Shropshire the name of Argoed, or Woodland.
[7] *tafawd*, W. The *t* is here eclipsed by the *n*.
[8] *gwn*, W.; pret. [9] That is, with blood.
[10] *mellion*, W.; subst. aggr. Vide st. 15, *loegyr-wys*.
[11] Here *ng* eclipses the *c* of *callon*. [12] *braint*, W.
[13] *cadwr*, W.; *cedwyr*, pl. [14] *para*, W. [15] *parwar*, W.
[16] *galar*, W. [17] That is, the warriors mentioned in the preceding stanza.

Y dref wenn ymbronn y coet.
ysef yv yhefras[1] eiryoet :
ar wyneb y gvellt y gvaet.

52 The White Town in the bosom of the wood !
There has ever been of its lustyhood,
On the surface of the grass, the blood !

Y dref wen ynythymyr[2]
y hefras yglas vyuyr[3] :
y gwaet adan draet y gvyr.

53 The White Town in the country-side !
Its lustyhood—its grey thoughtfulness—[4]
The blood under the feet of its warriors !

Y dref weñ ynydyffvynt
llbawen yvydeir[5] vrth gyvanrud[6] kat :
vgverin[7] neurderynt.

54 The White Town in the valley !
Joyful its troop with the common spoil of battle—
Its people are they not gone ?

Y dref wenn rvng trenn athrodwyd.
Oed gnodach ysgwyt tonn :
yndyuot o gat nogyt ych yechwyd.

55 The White Town between Tren and Trodwyd !
More common was the broken shield
Coming from battle, than the evening ox[8].

Y dref wenn rvng trenn athraual.
Oed gnodach y gauet[9] :
Ar wyneb gvellt noc eredic brynar[10].

56 The White Town between Tren and Traval !
More common was the blood
On the surface of the grass, than the ploughed fallow !

Gvynn yvyt[11] freuer mor yv diheint[12]. heno
gvedy colli keuneint[13] :
oanffavt[14] vyntauavt[15] yt lesseint.

57 Alas ! Freur ! how sad is it, to-night
After the loss of kindred !
By the mishap of my tongue were they slain ! &c.

[1] *evras*, W., means plump ; and in his Dictionary O. Pughe makes the word a substantive on the authority of the passage in the text. He there defines it the 'plumpness of youth.' Villemarqué reads *yrvras*, but I believe without any authority.

[2] *tymhyr*, W., properly means one's native district.

[3] *myfyr*, W.

[4] That is, its grey-headed seniors. O. Pughe construes 'its blue sons of contemplation'; and supposes that the bards are meant !

[5] *byddair*, W.

[6] *anrhaeth*, W., spoil ; *cyfanrhaeth*, common or public spoil. O. Pughe and Villemarqué give us *cyvamug*, but I do not know on what authority.

[7] *v* seems to be the same word as is generally found spelt *y* in the MS.

[8] That is, returning from pasture.

[9] This is evidently the same word as is elsewhere spelt *gwaet* or *gvaet*.

[10] *braenar*, W.

[11] *gwyn ei fyd* is still used as an adverbial expression in Welsh.

[12] *dihawnt*, W.

[13] *cyfnai*, W. ; *cyfneiaint*, pl.

[14] *anffawd*, W.

[15] *tafawd*, W. ; the *t* is eclipsed by the *n*.

Freur, as we learn from the latter part of the poem, was Kyndylan's sister. I do not, however, intend to trace out the various members of this chieftain's family; nor shall I speculate as to the rank or power they possessed among their countrymen. All that we can know on these matters must be gathered from the poem; and as we have no means of comparison, we have no sure ground whereon to base any critical inference. Such inquiries moreover would throw but little light on the subject immediately before us. Indeed the latter part of the poem contains so little that is of historical interest, that it would hardly repay us for the time and trouble which must be spent in unravelling its difficulties. I shall not therefore proceed further with my translation.

Bassa's Churches were no doubt a group of small churches, such as we find at Glendalough and other places in Ireland. The hallowed spot where the last Welsh Lord of Pengwern received a hurried and a blood-stained burial, may probably be recognized in Baschurch, a small town, or rather village, lying some seven miles north of Shrewsbury. Names of places on the Welsh border appear to be in many cases little more than loose translations of the Welsh names that preceded them, and Baschurch renders with sufficient precision the Welsh phrase Eglwysau Bassa.

It may help us to fix the locality of the 'White Town,' if we first ascertain what meaning was generally given to the phrase in the early times of which we are now treating. Whithorn in Galloway, where St. Ninia the Welsh apostle of the Southern Picts fixed his episcopal seat in the fourth century, was by our Saxon ancestors termed *hwit ærn* or White Cell. Bede tells us that the place was commonly called 'Ad candidam casam,' because Ninia had there 'built a church of stone after a fashion new to the Britons.'—Hist. Eccl., 3. 4. From this passage it seems probable that the church was called *candida casa* as early as the fourth century, when Ninia built it; and it is clear it was so called when Bede wrote, that is, a little more than a cen-

tury after Ceawlin's inroad. We may infer that in the sixth and seventh centuries the term *white* was applied to buildings of hewn stone, in contradistinction to houses built of timber or mere dry walling. Now Shropshire was an Argoed[1], or woodland, and the vast number of wooden houses still to be seen in its towns and villages shows the kind of material which must always have been the most available for constructive purposes. Its ancient towns were no doubt mainly built of timber. There is but one place in the district which we know, or with any show of probability can suppose, to have been built after the Roman fashion; and I believe Uriconium to be the 'White Town,' whence issued the bands of warriors whose prowess is dwelt upon with such mingled pride and sadness by the poet.

That an ancient highway—either a paved road or a driftway—ran alongside the Severn and entered Worcestershire, somewhere in the neighbourhood of Areley Magna, is almost certain: and equally so is it, that such highway crossed the Tern and passed through Uriconium. Through the same town ran the Watling Street. A traveller therefore from Pengwern, or from the upper part of the valley of the Tern, would pass that river immediately before reaching Uriconium; and when he reached the town might, as his occasions led him, either proceed further south, or pass eastward along the Watling Street. It was probably with reference to the two routes thus open to the traveller that the poet uses the phrases, 'the White Town between Tren and Trodwyd,' 'The White Town between Tren and Traval.' Traval and Trodwyd may have been noted places on the other side of Uriconium, on the line of these two highways—Trodwyd[2] being probably some forest-defile. That the poet considered Tren to be the name of a river as well as of a town appears from a triplet in the latter part

[1] Vide st. 45.

[2] *Gwydd* (W.), trees; *trawd* (W.), a journey, a passage; hence it would seem, *Trodwydd*, the wooded pass.

of the poem, which speaks of the confluence of the Tren and the Tridonwy, that is, as I take it, of the Tern and the Roden.

If the river Tren was our modern Tern, we must look for the town of Tren somewhere in the neighbourhood of this river. In the topography of every country, towns and villages readily take the name of the stream that flows past them; and the reader will easily call to mind some brook that gives its name to more than one village on its banks—epithets such as *great*, *little*, *wet*, *dry*, &c., being used for distinction's sake. On this very river we have a village called Tern; but it certainly has no pretensions to represent the town of Tren we are now in search of. It is clear that Kyndylan of Shrewsbury must have been lord of the whole surrounding country. His usual place of abode may have been on Carrec Hytwyth, but the great town, 'his fathers' town,' which figures so largely in the poem under the name of Tren, must have been the capital of his district. There was but one place which in Roman times had any pretensions to be so considered, and I believe that Tren and the 'White Town' alike represent the Roman Uriconium.

It may be asked, if Tren and Uriconium be the same place, how can we account for the difference of name? The objection is a very reasonable one, and requires on our part a very careful answer.

Most of our Roman towns have in their neighbourhood earthworks, supposed to be the remains of the more ancient British towns which they supplanted; Colchester has the earthworks at Lexden; Dorchester, the Maiden Camp; Chichester, the Brill; and so forth. We are generally told that these Roman towns grew out of the camps which were constructed during the siege of the neighbouring stronghold. I believe this to be a mistake. Temporary camps may sometimes be traced near these strongholds, and that they were constructed by the besiegers is very probable. But such camps differ both in their character and in the cir-

cumstances of their position from the towns, whose origin we are now investigating. The latter are mostly situated in the valley near the river, and often two or three miles from the scarped heights, which generally represent the British fortress; while the temporary camps, at least such as have fallen under my notice, lie only just beyond flight-shot from the fortress, and were evidently constructed more for the annoyance of the besieged than with any view to the convenience of the besiegers. The towns were probably erected as the different provinces, one after another, bent the neck to the yoke, and consented to receive the 'praesidia castellaque[1],' which the Propraetor for the time being might think necessary to secure their obedience.

For one of these garrison-towns Uriconium seems to have been originally intended; though it was probably inhabited in the sixth century by a population consisting for the most part of Romanized Britons. It lay about a third of a mile from the Tern, near its junction with the Severn, and about three miles from the Wrekin, on or near to which we have reason to believe was a native town, the old British capital of the district. This native town there can be little doubt continued to exist beside the Roman town, till the inroad of Ceawlin involved both in one common ruin.

We must not suppose that the British earthworks or 'camps,' as they are sometimes called, necessarily included within their circuit the whole of a British settlement. There are instances in which only scanty traces of habitation are found within the ramparts, while outside of them extend lines of hut-circles for a mile or more—showing clearly that the fortress was only used when the presence of an enemy made it necessary. The remains of an earthwork may still be traced on the Wrekin, and they represent no doubt the *dinle wrecon* or stronghold of the Wrekin of which mention is made in the latter part of the poem. It is probable, however, that the greater part of the British

[1] Tac. Agric. 20.

town lay at the foot of the hill to the westward, and that the space between it and the Roman town on the banks of the Tern was more or less thickly covered with buildings, cemeteries, tileries, &c., such as we find traces of near other Roman stations, Caister for example. The whole of this space, the Roman town included, seems to have taken the name of the British town, and to have been called Uriconium. But no doubt the people of the neighbourhood made nicer distinctions. As the Londoner distinguishes between London and Westminster, so would they distinguish between the *dinle wrecon* and the Roman town, to which they seem to have given the name of the river beside which it stood. In the British town was no doubt much of the old British rudeness, and much of Italian refinement in its Roman neighbour. The relations between the two may have been very similar to those that exist between the 'Irish town' and the 'English town' in some of our Irish cities.

A like case of confusion between the general and the special name occurs in the Itinerary. The 5th iter, which proceeds northwards from London, gives the distance between Caesaromagus and Colonia as twenty-four miles; the 9th iter, which proceeds to London southwards, and according to our ablest antiquaries traverses the same ground as the 5th iter, gives us the distance from Camulodunum to Canonium as eight miles, and from Canonium to Caesaromagus as twelve—in all twenty miles. That Colchester represents the Colonia of the 5th iter seems to be generally admitted; and that it represents the Camulodunum of Tacitus and of the 9th iter is maintained by writers of so much weight and by arguments so convincing, as to leave little room for doubt upon the subject. To account for the discrepancy of name we must suppose that the Roman town was specially called Colonia[1], *the*

[1] If we might suppose that Colonia took its name from the river on which it stood (the Colne), the case of Camulodunum would be exactly parallel to that of Uriconium. But on this supposition, I should expect, from analogy, that the town would be called Colonium, or Colinium.

Colony—because it was the first and the most important colony founded by the Romans in the island; and that the entire settlement took the name of Camulodunum from the British town at Lexden, to which it owed its origin. Some of the difficulties connected with this iter remain to be explained, but the principal ones, and among them we must rank the difference in the distances, may be accounted for on this hypothesis.

'Pengwern's eagle' must have been a denizen of the woods, which, we may reasonably suppose, at one time covered the banks of the Severn near Shrewsbury. But the harbourage of 'Eli's eagle' is not so readily discovered. Villemarqué goes in search of it as far as Ireland, but we may, I think, seek for it nearer home with better hopes of success. Bede tells us, that Alcluyth, the old name for Dunbarton, meant the rock of the Clyde; Hist. Ecc., I. 12; Helvellen, there is little doubt, meant the yellow mountain, as Rhiwvelen, that name so common in Welsh topography, meant the yellow slope—the different localities deriving their respective names from the yellow bloom of the gorse that covered them. It would seem then that *Al* or *Hel* was used in ancient British topography to denote a rocky height. Now, some twelve miles up the valley of the Tern there is a high and very remarkable ridge of rocks called Hawkstone. It runs towards the river, but dies away at Hodnet, shortly before reaching it. If this ridge were called[1] the *Hel* or *El*, the strong British fortress in front of it which goes by the name of Bury Walls, might very well, according to analogy[2], take the name of Elig, and as the

[1] There is some slight evidence that such was actually the case. Near to Hodnet is a place called Helshaw. We may surmise that of several shaws in the neighbourhood the one which approached nearest to Hawkstone took from it its name, and was called the Hel-shaw.

[2] *Elig* would really be an adjective, and would signify belonging to the *El*. But adjectives of this class are constantly used both in Welsh and in Breton as substantives denoting place. In modern Welsh Shrewsbury is called *Tref Amwythig*, the moated, or the merry town—Welsh scholars are not agreed as to the etymology—but the important point is that the town is often called *Amwythig*, without the substantive. Phil. Trans. i. No. 6. Avaricum (Bourges)

final *g* is dropt in Welsh almost as freely as in English, we at once get the name of Eli. Here then we have two British strongholds, one in the valley of the Severn at Pengwern, some five miles from Uriconium, the other twelve miles distant up the valley of the Tern; and the picture of the two eagles each sailing down his valley to the battle-field seems to me to be no less true to nature, than it is striking as a piece of poetry.

In triplet 37 Kyndylan's country is styled the land of Brochmael. I think we may conclude that at the time when the events took place which the poem refers to, a prince named Brochmael held the suzerainty in that part of Britain. There is reason to suppose that he was the same person as the prince of that name who, according to Bede, was present at the Battle of Chester[1]. This celebrated battle was fought, according to the Saxon Chronicle, in 607, but according both to the *Annales Cambriae* and to Tighernac, in 613, which is probably the true date. If we follow this calculation, thirty-six years must have elapsed between the date of Ceawlin's inroad and Ethelfrith's advance upon Chester; and, though this interval might well be comprised within the reign of one prince, yet it is long enough to make some explanation desirable. The circumstances of the case readily furnish it. The *Annales Cambriae* inform us that Selim, son of Cynan, fell in the battle of Chester. Now Cynan is always represented as the son of Brochmael, and accordingly it would appear that the grandson of Brochmael was engaged in the battle. It is clear, therefore, that the Welsh king must at that time have been a man in advanced life, a circumstance which explains the fact mentioned by Bede, that he took his station with the monks of Bangor, who had come to pray

lay on the river *Avar-a*, and Autricum (Chartres) on the river which was called Autura. Walckenaer, i. 399. The connexion between the names of the towns and the names of the rivers is obvious, and is noticed by Walckenaer, though he does not attempt to explain its nature.

[1] Hist. Eccl. 2. 2.

for the success of their countrymen. Brochmael, therefore, may very well have been King of Powis when Ceawlin attacked Uriconium ; and it was probably under the leadership of this Welsh king that the Britons succeeded in arresting the further progress of the invaders at the battle of Faddiley.

I trust I have now advanced arguments sufficient to convince the critical reader that it was Ceawlin, King of Wessex, who destroyed Uriconium. He appears to have wasted the whole valley of the Tern, and perhaps we may say the whole of the district to which we now give the name of Shropshire. But the Britons were still powerful enough to prevent his penetrating either into the valley of the Weaver, or into that of the Dee. For thirty-five years after Ceawlin's inroad, the King of Powis kept his hold of Chester, till in the year 613 he suffered at the hands of Ethelfrith the terrible defeat which Bede has commemorated. From that date the marches between North Wales and England have remained, with occasional variations, much as we find them at the present day.

Here it was my intention to have brought this paper to a close. But it has been suggested to me that I ought not to pass over without remark certain speculations which have lately obtained a good deal of public notice, and which, it must be confessed, are altogether at variance with the conclusions which I have been endeavouring to establish in the present essay. These speculations were first brought forward by Mr. Thomas Wright, in a paper which appeared in the Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire (vol. viii. p. 141), and have since been maintained in other papers published in the *Archaeologia Cambrensis.* His views have already met with formidable opponents in Mr. Basil Jones and others, and therefore my present notice of them may be the shorter.

According to Mr. Wright, 'the popular story that the people who resisted the Saxons was the ancient Celtic population of the island, is a mere fiction.' The scanty

remains of that population were the serfs who cultivated the land. The 'Britons' who resisted our ancestors were 'a mixture of races foreign to the island, and lived congregated in towns.' After the open country was overrun by the invaders, the towns lying in that part of Britain which is now called England, for the most part yielded 'on composition,' and still exists as English towns or cities. But in the west of Britain it was otherwise. 'The strong town of Deva or Chester held its ground on the north, and Glevum or Gloucester survived, and a Roman town on the site of Worcester may also have been preserved, but the line of strong towns between Gloucester and Chester—Ariconium, Magna, Bravinium, Uriconium, &c.,' with the other Roman towns in Wales, were 'utterly destroyed.' Who then were the people who wrought all this fearful ruin in the West of Britain?

Mr. Wright, in answer to this question, tells us, that Armorica 'was never completely Romanized.' Its Celtic population, holding 'fiercely to their own nationality, were accustomed to navigation and piracy,'—were indeed 'no less piratical than the Saxons themselves.' At the beginning of the fifth century they 'resumed their ancient barbarism,' and 'were the heart and nerve of that formidable Bagauderie which threatened the safety of the Roman government in Gaul.' When Aetius to a certain extent re-asserted Roman dominion in Armorica, they fled before him, and invaded the Western coasts of Britain. It was 'a fiercer invasion and conquest of the country, and much more destructive than the invasion of the Angles, Jutes, and Saxons in the other parts of the island.' The new barbarians exterminated the Romanized inhabitants of the land, destroyed Uriconium, &c., and settling down in the desert they had made, became the ancestors of the modern Welsh—the old story, that the Britons fled to the continent and gave name to Brittany, being of course a fiction.

No authorities are quoted in support of these statements.

They are only assertions and inferences, and may be treated accordingly. As far then as our knowledge goes, the people of Armorica had nothing to do with the *bagauderie*—if by this Mr. Wright means the insurrection of the *bagaudae* or peasants, of which Aurelius Victor and Eutropius make mention; and just as little had they to do with piracy. They exhibited a spirit of turbulence in their relations with the Roman government; but their country was intersected in all directions with Roman roads, and, as we have every reason to believe, was as thoroughly Romanized as the average of the Gallic provinces [1]—certainly as much so as the western parts of Britain. As to the alleged disappearance of the Celtic element from among the British population, I will only remark, that every Briton who is mentioned either by Bede or by the writers in the Chronicle, as an opponent of our ancestors, bears a name of Celtic origin; and though some of them may have been of Roman descent, yet it is clear, from the significancy of certain of the names, that the nationality with which they identified themselves was Celtic both in origin and in feeling. Of the circumstances under which the British towns came into possession of our ancestors we know but little. That little, however, directly contradicts Mr. Wright's statements. We know that they wasted many of these towns—Pevensey, Silchester, Verulam, Cambridge, Chester [2], &c.—and good reasons may be given for the belief that even London itself for awhile lay desolate and uninhabited. The towns in the west of Britain which bore the first brunt of heathen fierceness were for the most part sacked and burnt; those which lay more to the westward, and which our ancestors reached at a later period—Maridunum, Venta, Segontium, &c.—long continued to be peopled cities. According to

[1] By this phrase I mean the provinces inhabited by the people, to whom Caesar more especially gives the name of Galli. The inhabitants of Aquitaine, and of the valley of the Rhone, had been long before distinguished by their adoption of Roman manners and customs.

[2] According to Mr. Wright, Chester was one of the British towns that were 'preserved.'

Mr. Wright these last-mentioned towns should have been the first destroyed.

I hope that enough has now been advanced on this subject to shew that Mr. Wright's settlement of its difficulties has made a re-opening of the question neither superfluous nor uncalled for.

FETHANLEAG.—URICONIUM.

[From 'Archaeologia Cambrensis,' for 1863, p. 334.]

TO THE EDITOR OF THE 'ARCHAEOLOGIA CAMBRENSIS.'

SIR,—In the last number of the *Archaeologia Cambrensis* Mr. Wright has favoured us with a long extract from his forthcoming work on Uriconium. It deals, for the most part, with subjects that were largely discussed by me in a paper that appeared in the *Archaeologia* a few months back; but Mr. Wright informs us that the remarks contained in the extract were, as he 'need hardly add, written before the appearance of Dr. Guest's paper.' I have at present no concern with Mr. Wright's theories, nor with the reasons by which he endeavours to support them; but there is one portion of his remarks which touches me nearly, and on which I could wish to make a few observations.

The extract which Mr. Wright has given us concludes with the following remarks:

'We are informed in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, that in the year 584 the West-Saxon kings, Ceawlin and Cutha, "fought against the Britons at the place which is named Fethanleag, and Cutha was there slain; and Ceawlin took many towns and countless booty, and wrathful he thence returned to his own." An antiquary, who identifies Fethanleag with Faddiley in Cheshire, has suggested that it was on this expedition that the West-Saxons advanced into Shropshire, and attacked and destroyed Uriconium. But this is a mere hasty conjecture, improbable, unsupported by any evidence,' &c.

The hypothesis here referred to is precisely the one which was maintained in my paper. In that paper I proved, or

at least I thought I proved,—1st, that the Anglo-Saxon name 'Fethanleag' might at the present day be expected to take, in a northern county like Cheshire, the form of Faddiley; 2ndly, that by assuming our modern Faddiley to represent the Anglo-Saxon Fethanleag, all the incidents of the story, as detailed in the Chronicle, became consistent and probable; and lastly, that on this hypothesis Ceawlin, in his journey northwards, must have passed by Uriconium. I then gave a long extract from an old Welsh poem, describing the ruin of a certain town; which, from the places mentioned in connexion with it was probably Uriconium. This poem attributed the destruction of the town to the Lloegyrwys,—that is, to the men of Lloegyr, or England; and it called the adjacent district 'the land of Brochmael.' As we have reason to believe that at the time of Ceawlin's inroad there actually was a prince named Brochmael, who was lord of the district in which Uriconium lay, I considered myself justified in connecting the inroad of Ceawlin with the destruction of that town.

These speculations were brought forward without reference to any one who had previously noticed them. The reader would naturally conclude they were then published for the first time; and I certainly myself entertained that opinion. It appears I was mistaken. Before my paper was printed, Mr. Wright, it seems, had elsewhere met with them, and had already passed his judgment upon them. It might therefore be supposed that I had been guilty of plagiarism, or at least of parading as my own theories which had already been made public property. Under these circumstances it becomes my duty to offer both explanation and apology to the gentleman who anticipated me; and to enable me to do so, I must call on Mr. Wright to favour me with the *name* of the antiquary to whom he makes allusion in the passage I have quoted.

EDWIN GUEST.

July, 1863.

THE FALL OF URICONIUM.

[Extracted from the 'Archaeologia Cambrensis,' April, 1864.]

LLYWARCH HEN AND URICONIUM.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE 'ARCHAEOLOGIA CAMBRENSIS.'

SIR,—The July number of the *Arch. Camb.* contained a paper written by Mr. Thomas Wright, and giving us his opinion on some recent speculations relative to the destruction of Uriconium. The speculations on which he passed judgment, and which he ascribed to a certain unnamed 'antiquary,' were identical with those I had myself shortly before published on the same subject. As he informed us that his remarks were written before the appearance of my paper, the reader might be led to suppose that I had appropriated another man's labours without acknowledgment, and I therefore considered myself entitled to ask Mr. Wright to favour me with the name of the 'antiquary' he alluded to. I have looked in vain through the last number of the *Archaeologia* for his reply, and am therefore driven to conclude that in stating his remarks to have been written, as he 'need hardly add, before the appearance of Dr. Guest's paper,' he was labouring under some hallucination of memory. Having, I trust, cleared myself from any suspicions that may have been excited in the reader's mind by a perusal of Mr. Wright's paper, I will now proceed to examine the strange and novel theory he has propounded. In this task, I have been in some degree anticipated by Mr. Stephens, *Arch. Camb.* No. xxxvii, p. 62; but the statements of this gentleman are often so strangely inaccurate, and his reasoning, at least to my mind, so inconclusive,

that I am unwilling to adopt him as the exponent of my own views on the subject. I therefore send my paper as it was originally written, even at the risk of being thought occasionally to repeat Mr. Stephens's arguments.

According to Mr. Wright, the *Marwnad* which Welsh scholars have hitherto looked upon as written by Llywarch Hen in the sixth century, was really written by a Welsh minstrel in the fifteenth. He supposes the minstrel to have been acquainted with the ruins of Uriconium, and to have concocted the story of its destruction by the English, in order to sharpen the animosity of the Welsh, during the outburst of feeling, which followed the rising of Owen Glendower. He considers the forgery to be betrayed by the topographical blunders which the writer has committed; and so eager is he to expose these blunders that he tells us he 'will not dwell upon the fact, that the whole elegy is written in a form of verse, which was only introduced by the Normans in the twelfth century.' It is hardly wise in Mr. Wright to be so lavish of his resources. If he prove 'the fact,' he at the same time proves the forgery. I have had a good deal to do with English and Norman rhythms, but have not yet succeeded in finding the Norman rhythm which could have given birth to the *triban milwr*. The *triban milwr* is the oldest known form of Celtic versification, and, as I have ventured to state elsewhere (*Hist. of Eng. Rhythms*, i. 120), probably suggested the use of final rhyme to the Latinists of the third and fourth centuries, who first introduced it, and most of whom were Celts by birth. But the best mode of dealing with Mr. Wright's scepticism, is to refer him, as Mr. Stephens has done, to the Juvencus MS. This MS., which may be found—not in the Bodleian Library, as Mr. Stephens tells us, but—in the Public Library at Cambridge, contains certain Welsh stanzas written in the *triban milwr*. They are well known to scholars, and both in style and subject so strongly resemble the *Marwnad* in question, that it has been conjectured they once formed a portion of it. Lhuyd, who discovered them,

considered them to be the earliest specimen of Welsh that had fallen under his notice. Zeuss introduces them as exhibiting 'constructionis metricae communem faciem Celticam et specialem memoratam Cambricam,' and moreover, 'primam linguae Cambricae aetatem scriptione et formis grammaticalibus prodentes' *Gramm. Celt.* ii. 946; while Villemarqué, who some nine years ago came over to England expressly to examine this MS., pronounces the *writing* to be as early as the beginning of the ninth century, *Notices des MSS. Bretons*, p. 8[1]. Perhaps Mr. Wright will be good enough to inform us, what date in his opinion should be assigned to it?

We will now turn our attention to the topographical blunders which the writer of the poem is said to have committed. Several stanzas of the poem begin with the words *Eglvisseu bassa*—churches of Bassa! They give rise to the following criticism—'as Mr. Eyton has already observed (*Ant. of Shrops.* x. 130), Bassa is an Anglo-Saxon name, and Bassa's Church was an Anglo-Saxon foundation, and as Christianity was only established in Mercia in the year

[1] Mr. Stephens says, 'Lhuyd refers this MS. to the seventh century, and Zeuss to the eighth century. Here, then, we have triplets of the kind used by Llywarch, and which may have been sung by the old bard himself, full four centuries, if not five, anterior to the time when Mr. Wright says the metre was introduced by the Normans.' Neither of the statements, on which Mr. Stephens bases his inference, will bear examination. Zeuss never saw the MS., and never ventured an opinion as to the age of the writing further than is contained in the passages I have quoted. Lhuyd's words are, 'Mi ai kevaes ÿn nhàl dalen o hên lyvyr Lhadin 'sgrivennedig o lâu Guydhelig ar groen hÿvyr er ÿng hylch mil o vlÿnÿdhoedh' (*Arch. Brit.*, 221).—I found it (that is, the specimen of Old Welsh he had been talking about) on the top of a page of an old Latin book, written in an Irish hand on goat-skin, about a thousand years ago. As Lhuyd published the *Arch. Brit.* about the beginning of the eighteenth century, he must have thought that the Latin text was written about the beginning of the eighth: and he may not have been very far wrong in his conjecture. As to the time when the Welsh triplets were written, he says not a word. The writing differs widely from that of the Latin text in the body of the MS., and it is extremely difficult to ascertain its precise age, though I am not disposed to quarrel with the date Villemarqué assigns to it. The doubts on this subject will be of little service to Mr. Wright, as the triplets were most certainly written long before the Conquest.

655, this church could not have existed within a hundred years after the period at which Llywarch Hen is supposed to have written.' There is here a looseness of statement that may mislead. Mr. Eyton told us, that 'one Basse[1] was the founder of the Kentish monastery of Reculver,' and thence inferred that Basse was an Anglo-Saxon name. He then *assumed* that Baschurch was called after some Anglo-Saxon bearing this name, and drew the conclusion, that a Welsh poem purporting to be written in the sixth century, and mentioning the 'Churches of Bassa,' must be a forgery. Such is the thread on which these gentlemen would hang so weighty an inference. What, it might be asked, are we to say to the Basfords, which are met with in so many of our English counties, in Cheshire, Salop, Staffordshire, Nottinghamshire, etc.? Were all these the fords of the Anglo-Saxon Bassa? If so, he must have been a strangely ubiquitous personage. I do not know that I can be fairly called upon to state my own views as to the etymology of Baschurch. But amid guesses such as we have been dealing with, I need not be ashamed to bring forward one of my own. It has struck me, that in British topography, *bas* seems often to have been used to denote a small stream, and I think I discover the origin of the old Celtic name in the Irish word *bais*, water. If this hypothesis be accepted, Basford, Baslow, Basmead, Baschurch, etc., would signify the Basbrook ford, the Basbrook low or tumulus, the Basbrook mead, the Basbrook church, etc.

There is one circumstance connected with this part of our inquiry, which seems to me important, though Mr. Wright

[1] The real name is Bass: 'King Ecgberht gave to Bass the mass-priest Reculf, etc.' (Salde Basse mœsse preoste, etc., *Sax. Chron.* 663.) Mr. Eyton committed the usual blunder and confounded the dative case with the nominative.

I shall not attempt to explain the relation that exists between the Welsh word Bassa and the first element of the English word Baschurch. The inquiry would be a difficult one, and would require more space than the limit of a note could furnish. Mr. Wright seems to consider Bass, Basse, and Bassa as varying forms of the same word, differing only as respects their orthography.

passes over it in silence. In the Marwnad, the phrase is *Eglwysseu bassa*, the churches of Bassa. Now, if the poem date from the sixth century, the use of the plural noun can be explained. for we know it was a common practice for the Celtic populations of the British islands to build several small churches or oratories within the same inclosure. We know also, that except in special cases, as at Glastonbury, our own ancestors contented themselves with a single church. Hence, we can understand how the old name 'the Churches of Bassa,' was superseded by the modern term Baschurch. But if, according to Mr. Wright's hypothesis, a Welsh minstrel of the fifteenth century forged the poem, and in so doing used the topography of the fifteenth century when describing the events of the sixth, how came he, in translating the name of Baschurch to use the plural noun instead of the singular? I am at a loss for an answer.

Again, several stanzas in the poem begin with the words *Y dref wen*, the White Town! We hear of its armies, of its lusty youth, and of its grey-headed seniors; and there can be no reasonable doubt that it was the capital of the district. Now, in the language of the sixth century, a white building meant a building of hewn stone. and it seemed to me a reasonable conjecture that the name was given to the Roman town of Uriconium, in order to distinguish it from the towns and villages around it, which were no doubt mainly built of timber. Mr. Wright takes a different view of the matter—'the bard speaks of Withington as the scene of one encounter with the Saxons, and calls it the White Town. Here we have again a purely Anglo-Saxon name which could not therefore have existed in this locality in the time of Llywarch Hen, and there is moreover a blunder in the interpretation of it. The name has no relation whatever to *white*, for Withington simply means in Anglo-Saxon the *tun*, or residence of the Withingas or Wettingas.' There is nothing in the village of Withington to countenance the notion that it was the

'White Town' of the poem[1], and that the poet ever intended so to represent it is a purely gratuitous assumption on the part of Mr. Wright. If we put aside this assumption, there is not a tittle of evidence to convict the poor 'bard' of the blundering charged against him, be it topographical or etymological. Whether Mr. Wright, if we look closely into the matter, will obtain an acquittal quite so readily, may be doubted. He tells us Withington meant the *tun* or residence of the Withingas. Names formed apparently in the same analogy as Withington, have lately been the subject of much speculation, which seems to have attracted Mr. Wright's attention. There can be no doubt that Watling Street meant the street of the Watlings, Erming Street the street of the Ermings[2], Buckingham the hamlet of the Buckings, and so forth. We are able to make these assertions owing to the forms these names assume in the Anglo-Saxon. But if Mr. Wright, on the strength of the analogy, were to maintain that Huntingdon meant the down or hill of the Huntings, and Leamington the town of the Leamings, he would be greatly mistaken. What was the original meaning of Withington I do not know, as I have never seen the name in any Anglo-Saxon document. If Mr. Wright has been more fortunate, he should have told us so; it would have cost him no more trouble to give us his proof

[1] Mr. Stephens, it seems, thinks differently. According to this gentleman, the name of Withington signifies the White Town, and 'the correspondence between the Welsh and English names far outweighs, in his judgment, the denial of Mr. Wright' (p. 68). Mr. Stephens, with much reason, asks for something more than Mr. Wright's 'assertion' that Withington means the *tun* of the Withingas; and may not we ask for something more than Mr. Stephens's, before we admit that Withington means the White Town. *Withing* is not the word *white*, nor any form corrupt or derivative into which that word can be tortured. Mr. Stephens's assumption is just as baseless as Mr. Wright's, with this difference—that Mr. Wright's is a possible, though an unproved, hypothesis; whereas, the assumption of Mr. Stephens is altogether contrary to the laws which regulate the letter-changes of the English language.

[2] Since the paper on 'The Four Roman Ways' was published (*Arch. Journal*, No. 54 above, pp. 218, sq.), the Saxon Charter to which I referred, as mentioning the Erming Street has been recovered, and the name is found written, as I conjectured would be the case—*Earminga Straet*—the street of the Earmings.

than to make his assertion, and without the proof, the assertion is valueless.

In another part of the poem, mention is made of a place called Ercal; and according to Mr. Wright, 'This is also an Anglo-Saxon name, and the bard seems not to have been aware that the modern name Ercal was only a corruption of the original name of Ercalewe or Arcalewe, meaning of course Erca's low, and this name is constantly found from the time of Domesday survey to near the end of the fourteenth century.' Mr. Wright seems not to be aware that Ercal or Arcal is a very common name in British topography. It belongs to no less than three places[1] in Shropshire, and may be found in several other counties. Had Erca a low or burial-place in each of these several Ercals? It is true that in Norman charters Ercalewe is commonly, though not 'constantly,' substituted for Ercal. But to pronounce Ercal a corruption of Ercalewe is hazardous criticism. Can Mr. Wright produce any instance of a similar corruption? I have paid a good deal of attention to the laws which regulate our English letter-changes, and I know of none. Nothing, however, is more common than for a place to take different names according to circumstances, and, in a formal document, a more precise and distinctive name than prevails in the current language of the people. What is the name intended to be represented by Ercalewe it is not very easy to say, owing to the strange disguises under which English names appear in writings of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries. Probably, it may have been intended to represent the compound term which in modern orthography would be spelt Ercal-lea. However this may be, Erca of Ercalewe must take his place beside the Bassa of Baschurch. He never existed but in Mr. Wright's imagination.

There is another objection brought against the genuineness of the poem, which to some readers may appear a more formidable one. In one of the stanzas occurs the word

[1] High Ercal, Child's Ercal, and Ercal wood, near the Wrekin.

Ffrainc, and Mr. Wright points to it as containing a clear reference to the Normans. Now, in my notice of this old Welsh poem, I expressly stated that as it has come down to us, it probably contains much that has been interpolated. I might, therefore, if I thought fit, avail myself of the means of escape thus opened to me. The passage containing the word *Ffrainc* is not, like those referring to Bassa and the White Town, an essential or even an important part of the poem, and might be given up with little inconvenience. But I will deal candidly with Mr. Wright, and confess that I believe the passage in question to be a part of the original poem. I will deal generously also, and further tell him, that under that word Ffrainc lies buried a chapter of unwritten history. If he dig deep enough, he may find it, and then his be the credit of the discovery! The chapter will, no doubt, be some day written; though, at present, both space and leisure may be wanting for the purpose. Those who feel an interest in the subject may, if they search diligently the papers I have written on our early history, find more than one finger-post pointing to the spot where the treasure lies; and, to do my part towards aiding the adventure, I will add—first, that the word Ffrainc has no reference to the Normans; and, secondly, that Lingard, in whom Mr. Stephens puts his trust, is almost as much astray upon the subject as Mr. Wright himself.

The localities mentioned in the poem are very difficult to identify. Mr. Stephens considers that Trodwydd is Rodington, Avaerwy, 'probably the Weaver,' Traval, 'some place on the Meole,' etc. — conclusions which it will be time enough to discuss when we know the reasons on which they are founded.

The site of Tren, which I have considered to be the same place as the 'White Town,' or, in other words, as the Roman Uriconium, Mr. Stephens leaves for the present undetermined (p. 72); and he asks, why should the Roman town be called after the Tern rather than the Severn, as it lay in the fork between the two rivers, and nearer the

latter than the former? The answer is a very obvious one. The Severn was the great drain of the west of Britain, and had on its banks more than one great Roman city. If these cities were named after the streams that flowed by them, it is clear that, in order to be distinctive, the names must be taken not from the main river near which the cities stood, but from the affluent which entered it in their neighbourhood. Mr. Stephens, moreover, thinks that the poet not only knew 'the Roman town by its proper designation,' but that 'he bears distinct testimony to the fact that it was then a ruin—that in the first half of the seventh century Uriconium was a city of the past. It is singular,' he adds, 'that so significant a verse as the following should have been overlooked.

> 'Neur syllais o Dinlle Vrecon
> Freur werydre
> Hiraeth am dammorth brodyrdde.'

> 'Have I not gazed from the site of the city of Wrecon
> Upon the lands of Freur,
> With sorrow for brotherly support.'

And he dwells at some length upon 'the extensive prospect which the spot commands.' I am well acquainted with the site of the Roman Uriconium, but was not previously aware of those advantages of prospect which Mr. Stephens ascribes to it. My quarrel, however, at present, is with Mr. Stephens's translation. *Dinlle* does not signify 'the site of a city.' *Din* is a fortress, and *lle* a place; and *dinlle* means simply a fortified place or stronghold. In my paper on *The Conquest of the Severn Valley*[1], I considered the *Vrecon*, in the triplet Mr. Stephens has quoted, to refer to the remarkable hill, which gave its name alike to the Roman city and the British town which preceded it; and that the *dinlle Vrecon* was the earthwork, in which the inhabitants of the earlier town, in times of danger, took refuge with their flocks and herds, and remains of which may still be traced upon the Wrekin. What a prospect opens before the man who gazes

[1] See above, p. 305.

from the Wrekin, I need not inform either Mr. Stephens or the reader.

Mr. Stephens endeavours to fix the date of 'the destruction of Tren,' and he tells us, 'It must have been after 577, for Caeawg, the brother of Cynddylan, who was dead when the bard wrote, fought at the battle of Mannan in 584, survived that and fell at Cattraeth in 603' (*Annals of Ulster*, a. 584, *Gododin*, line 38). Here is an explicit statement followed by the necessary vouchers. Nothing, apparently, can be more satisfactory. I turned to the Annals of Ulster [1], and under the date 581 (not 584) found the entry—'An. DLXXXI Bel Manonn in quo victor erat Aedhan me Gabhrain'—but no mention of Caeawg. I turned to the Gododin and at line 38 I found a word *caeawg*, which Dr. Davies, Mr. Williams (ab Ithel), and M. de Villemarqué all alike treat as an adjective and render 'crowned with a wreath.' But Mr. Stephens assures us that it is really no adjective but the name of a hero, and he assumes that the hero he has thus disinterred is Caeawg, the brother of Cynddylan! 'Again, Rhys, apparently the son of Morial, fought at Cattraeth; Rhys, the son of Morial, was dead when Llywarch wrote, and accordingly Marwnad Cynddylan was written after 603. The battle of Cattraeth was fought between Ethelfrith of Northumbria, and an allied force of Scots and Britons; there were two battles, in the first of which the Britons were victorious. Ethelfrith sent an offer of peace, his messenger was a Briton named Twrch; the offer was rejected; the Britons drank "clear mead" by torch-light; went drunk to battle next day; fell headlong off their horses, and lost the day. Twrch sided with the Angles, from having been deprived of his lands by his countrymen—Aneurin thought unjustly; and it was this Twrch who, coming to reclaim his patrimony, pierced Cynddylan through the head. This hostile visit may possibly have taken place in 613 after the battle of Bangor, when Ethelfrith defeated Brochwel.' (*Arch. Camb.*, for 1864, p. 73.) One hardly knows how to deal with statements like

[1] Rerum Hib. Scriptores, iv. 29.

these. The name of Ethelfrith does not once occur in the poem, and Twrch is just as shadowy a personage as the Cacawg we have been dealing with. There is not, indeed, a single one of these statements that is anything better than an unproved hypothesis. When the Gododin has been subjected to a searching criticism, its construction ascertained, and the interpolated matter rejected—for that there *is* interpolated matter is certain—there may be a residuum available for the purposes of history. At present it is mere cloud-land. It is not yet decided whether it is a poem, a fragment of a poem, or a collection of poems. Each of these views has had its advocates. It is not yet settled between what parties the battle of Cattraeth was fought, when it was fought, or where it was fought. It was fought about the middle of the sixth century, according to Sharon Turner; about the end of that century, according to M. A. Thierry; 'probably about 570,' according to Mr. Williams: and according to Mr. Stephens in 603. It was fought a few miles east of Dumbarton, says M. de Villemarqué (*Bardes Bretons*, 242); somewhere on the Catrail, that is, on 'the rampart extending nearly from the Solway to the Forth,' says Mr. Williams (*Y Gododin*, 4); at Catterick in Yorkshire, says Mr. Stephens (*Literature of the Cymry*, 11); and I have myself the misfortune to differ from each of these gentlemen. It is simply idle to quote the poem in the way Mr. Stephens has done. There is nothing definite or tangible before us. One might as well attempt to carve into shape the mist that lies along the side of a Welsh mountain.

I fully agree in the remarks Mr. Stephens has made on the off-hand manner in which certain writers deal with these precious relics of an ancient literature—for precious they are notwithstanding all the disfigurements they have undergone. It is chiefly characteristic of those who, like Mr. Wright, are wholly ignorant of the language. Ignorant scepticism is no less easy, and to my mind even more offensive, than ignorant credulity; and the 'slashing criticism' fostered by the anonymous writing now so prevalent, deserves to be treated with at least as much severity as the

innocent dreams in which our Welsh friends indulge so largely. Patient scholarship, aided by real criticism, may, it is to be hoped, lead the way to a better understanding of these mysterious poems; and the want of trustworthy texts will, in all probability, be soon supplied. As a student of Welsh literature, I might have been better pleased, if some of the more valuable manuscripts—the Black Book for example—were published in their entirety, but till this be done, we may be thankful for the collection of the Historical Poems promised us by Mr. Skene.

In these remarks I have dealt candidly with Mr. Stephens, and frankly stated what I consider to be the weak points in his theory. He is now disembarrassed of Mr. Wright, and will perhaps treat me with equal frankness, and discuss the 'important errors,' which he tells me are involved in my argument. That he may clearly see the issue before him, and not waste his strength by attacking positions I do not hold, I will add a brief summary of it. First, the Anglo-Saxon name of *Fethan leag*—Mr. Stephens writes it *Fethernleagh*—may be expected, in our modern topography, to take the shape of *Faddiley*; secondly, by assuming the identity of the two places Fethan leag and Faddiley, all the circumstances relating to the battle of Fethan leag and detailed in the *Chronicle* become consistent and probable; thirdly, on this supposition Ceawlin must have passed by Uriconium in his march to Fethan leag, A.D. 584; fourthly, it appears from the poem, that the country round Uriconium was wasted by the English, while Brochmael was king of Powis; fifthly, it is probable that Brochmael was king at least as early as 584; and lastly, as there is no reason for supposing that the English on two occasions wasted Shropshire, I consider myself justified in concluding that Uriconium was destroyed in 584 during Ceawlin's inroad. This is the argument to which Mr. Stephens must address himself. Hitherto, I have not found the man who could break a link in this chain of reasoning.

EDWIN GUEST.

URICONIUM, ETC.

[From the 'Archaeologia Cambrensis' for July 1864, pp. 260-262.]

TO THE EDITOR OF THE 'ARCHAEOLOGIA CAMBRENSIS.'

Sir,—In the last number of the *Arch. Camb.* we were told by Mr. Wright that the question I put to him in the October number, 'was expressed in a tone which appeared so little courteous, that he did not think of making any reply to it.' I had been under the impression that when a misrepresentation was made, the party aggrieved by it was entitled to demand an explanation or an apology; and if the demands were conveyed in terms which—whatever might be 'the tone'—were not absolutely rude, it was all the offending party could reasonably expect. I am now at length informed that Mr. Wright had only seen my remarks on the destruction of Uriconium in 'the Report of an Archaeological Meeting,' and forebore to quote me 'for what might only have been hastily expressed and afterwards abandoned or might not have been correctly repeated.' This excuse may apply to the original criticism said to have been 'written before the appearance of Dr. Guest's paper,' but how does it cover the misrepresentation published in the July number after that paper had actually appeared? How can Mr. Wright justify his referring to me in the same article under different designations, first as 'Dr. Guest,' and afterwards as 'a certain antiquary,' and by so doing ingeniously suggesting suspicions to my prejudice, which were no less unfounded than injurious?

In Mr. Stephens' paper (*Arch. Camb.* No. 38), that gentleman required something more than Mr. Wright's assertion

in proof of Withington being 'the *tun* of the Withingas.' The demand was a very reasonable one, and it meets with the following reply on the part of Mr. Wright:—

'If you should tell a person who had not been instructed in astronomy that an eclipse of the moon was caused by the position of the earth between its satellite and the sun, and he should reply that he had only your "assertion" for it, which he would not accept, you might perhaps think the reply rather rude, but would recommend him to learn astronomy. I am sorry to say that, in the present case, it is the best answer I can give to Mr. Stephens. Let him go and learn the subject; and for this purpose I can recommend him, very conscientiously, the chapter on the mark in Kemble's *Saxons in England.* Any one acquainted with the Anglo-Saxon language, and the antiquities of the Anglo-Saxons, know that all these names ending in *ington, ingham,* &c., are formed of patronymics of family clans,' &c.

As I am one of those whose ignorance on this subject Mr. Wright has to enlighten, he will not, I hope, be angry with me, if I venture to discuss at some length the proposition which he thus lays down for our acceptance.

We must begin by disabusing the reader's mind of the notion to which Mr. Wright's mode of dealing with the question seems naturally to lead, viz. that all our modern names of places ending in *ington*, *ingham*, &c., have their Saxon prototypes always fashioned after the same model, so that, given some modern name, we can readily supply the form which it will exhibit in an Anglo-Saxon document. So far is this from being the case, that it would be easy to produce some half-dozen modern names all formed apparently on the same model, which are nevertheless the representatives of Anglo-Saxon names, no two of which agree in their formation—the distinctive features of our earlier dialect having been melted down and confounded in that process of degradation through which our language has passed during the last seven or eight centuries. By

way of illustration, let us examine the forms which Mr. Wright's favourite *Withington* might take in an Anglo-Saxon charter, and to facilitate matters let us assume with Mr. Wright that the modern *th* represents the double *t* of the Anglo-Saxon.

First then, Withington might appear in an Anglo-Saxon charter under the form *Wittinga tun*, the town of the Wittings, or, if Mr. Wright *will* have Anglo-Saxon terms, the '*tun* of the Wittingas.' Here the Wittings represent the clan or family which Mr. Wright considers to be necessarily indicated in all these compounds, and which is the subject of so much speculation in Kemble's *Saxons in England.*

Secondly, Withington might appear in an Anglo-Saxon charter under the form *Witting tun.* The origin and meaning of this construction have given rise to much difference of opinion among Saxon scholars, though the papers which have discussed these questions are apparently unknown to Mr. Wright. Kemble's views on the subject may be found in his *Saxons in England* I. 60. We need not reopen the discussion. It is sufficient for my purpose to have pointed out a mode of explaining the name of Withington which does not seem to have entered into Mr. Wright's calculations.

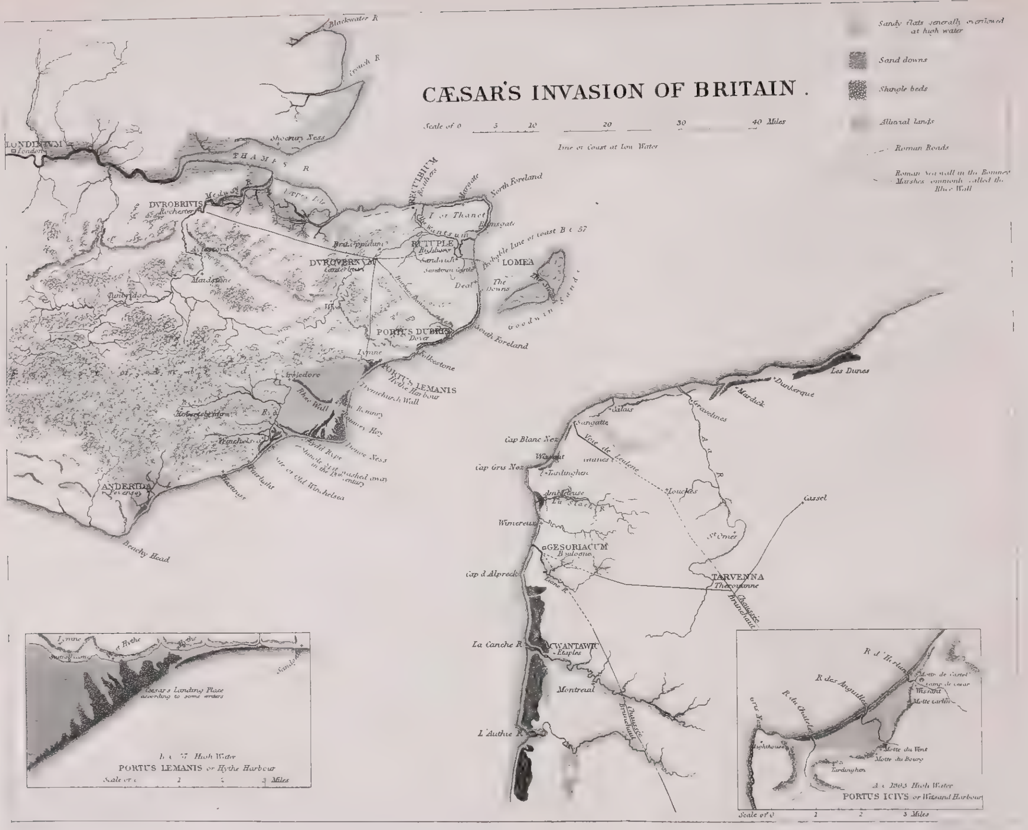
Thirdly, Withington might take the form of *Wittan tun*, where *Wittan* represents one of those genitives in *an*, which enter so frequently into Saxon names of places. In some few cases the ending *an* is now represented by *en* or *n*, as in Chelten-ham, Orkn-ey, &c., but in the vast majority of instances it has been corrupted into *ing.* The Anglo-Saxon *Huntan dun*, the hill of the huntsman. is now Hunting-don, and *Aebban dun*, Aebba's hill, is now Abingdon. Leamington lies on the Leam, and there can be little doubt the name is a corruption of an Anglo-Saxon *Leaman tun*, the town of the Leam-e; and in like manner Ermington on the Erme, some twelve miles east of Plymouth, must be a corruption of *Earman tun*, the town of the Earm-e. To show how

hazardous it sometimes is to reason from the English name of a place to that which prevailed during the Anglo-Saxon period, we may observe that the Cambridgeshire Ermington (now Arrington) represented the Anglo-Saxon *Earminga tun*, the town of the Earmings or fen-men.

There are two other forms which Withington might take in an Anglo-Saxon charter. But enough has been advanced to show how untenable is the proposition 'that all these names ending in *ington*, *ingham*, &c., are formed of patronymics of families or clans.' Though strongly tempted, I will not follow Mr. Wright's example, and bid him 'go and learn the subject;' but I may be permitted to remind him that when a writer quits the shelter of an anonyme, and ventures to subscribe his name to an article, he exposes himself to criticism, and that under such circumstances it would be wise not to dogmatize upon subjects, with respect to which his knowledge, is, to say the least, not quite so full and satisfactory as might be desirable.

The name of Fethgna in the Juvencus MS., written apparently in the same hand as the Welsh triplets (*Arch. Camb.* 38, 154), goes far, when taken in connexion with the name of Nuadu, to fix the writing of those triplets to the latter half of the ninth century. Both names were first pointed out by Mr. Bradshaw. The same gentleman who discovered the oldest specimen of Scotch Gaelic now extant—I refer to the Gaelic entries in the Deer MS. shortly to be published by the Spalding Club—has also furnished us with the means of determining within narrow limits the date of the oldest specimen of Welsh writing as yet known to us.

EDWIN GUEST.


CÆSAR'S INVASION OF BRITAIN.
Scale of 0 5 10 20 30 40 Miles
Line of Coast at Low Water
Sandy flats generally overflowed at high water
Sand downs
Shingle beds
Alluvial lands
Roman Roads
Blackwater R
Crouch R
Shoebury Ness
LONDINIVM
London
THAMES R
DVROBRIVIS
Rochester
Medway R
RVTVPIÆ
Richborough
I. of Thanet
Margate
North Foreland
Ramsgate
DVROVERNVM
Canterbury
Sandwich
Maidstone
Deal
The Downs
LOMEA
Goodwin Sands
PORTVS DVBRIS
Dover
South Foreland
Lymne
Folkestone
PORTVS LEMANIS
Hythe Harbour
Appledore
Rhee Wall
Dymchurch Wall
Romney
Dunge Ness
Winchelsea
ANDERIDA
Pevensey
Beachy Head
Hastings
Fairlight
Les Dunes
Dunkerque
Mardick
Gravelines
Calais
Sangatte
Cap Blanc Nez
Wissant
Cap Gris Nez
Tardinghen
Ambleteuse
Wimereux
Cassel
S.t Omer
GESORIACUM
Boulogne
Cap d'Alpreck
Liane R
TARVENNA
Therouanne
Chaussée Brunehaut
La Canche R
QUANTAWIC
Etaples
Montreuil
L'Authie R
Cæsar's Landing Place according to some writers
PORTUS LEMANIS or Hythe Harbour
Scale of 0 1 2 3 Miles
R. des Anguilles
R. du Chatelet
Lighthouse
Motte du Vent
Motte du Bourg
Tardinghen
PORTUS ICIUS or Wissant Harbour
Scale of 0 1 2 3 Miles

THE INVASION OF BRITAIN BY JULIUS CAESAR.

A MEMOIR READ AT THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE HELD AT ROCHESTER IN JULY, 1863.

[Reprinted from the 'Archaeological Journal,' vol. xxi. p. 220.]

CIRCUMSTANCES have given a fresh interest to all matters connected with Caesar's invasion of Britain, and the criticism his narrative has been subjected to, more particularly in France, seemed to require some notice at the hands of English antiquaries. The subject was accordingly selected as a suitable one for discussion at the meeting of the Institute held at Rochester. The arguments then brought forward were afterwards circulated more widely in the pages of the Athenaeum[1]; and the present article is little more than a republication of the papers which appeared in that journal. Some alterations and additions have been made and a map appended, which it is hoped may make the author's reasoning clearer, by bringing the relative position of the several localities more distinctly before the reader.

Caesar twice invaded Britain. It is clear from his narrative that on both occasions he sailed from the same port in Gaul, and landed on the same part of the British coast. In his account of his second transit he calls the port he sailed from the Portus Icius. Our first question, then, will be, Where was situated this Portus Icius?

After his interview with the Gaulish traders, Caesar

[1] Athenaeum, Aug. 15, 1863, p. 210; Aug. 22, p. 241; Sept. 26, p. 400; Oct. 3, p. 433.

despatched Volusenus to explore the British coast. He then, as the narrative tells us (B. G. 4. 21), 'sets out for the country of the Morini, because from thence the passage to Britain was the shortest. Hither he orders ships to come from all the neighbouring districts, and also the fleet which he had constructed the summer before for the war against the Veneti.' A few sentences afterwards we read (B. G. 4. 22), that 'while Caesar is detained in these parts with the view of getting the vessels ready,' embassies come to him from various tribes of the Morini. When I read these passages, I find it very difficult to arrive at any but one conclusion, viz. that the Portus Icius was some port of the Morini; and I should be driven to adopt this conclusion, even though Strabo had not distinctly told us that 'the Itium which the deified Caesar used as his port when he crossed over to the island' *was* in the country of the Morini (Geogr. 4. 5. 2). I shall start therefore, with this assumption.

On the coast of the Morini, from the Canche northwards, are numerous little inlets, which are, or we may presume at one time to have been, tidal harbours—Etaples (formerly Cwanta-wic), Boulogne, Wimereux, Ambleteuse, Wissant, Sangatte[1], Calais, Gravelines, and Dunkerque. Each one of these small ports has in its turn been selected as the representative of the Portus Icius. But in the midst of the rival ports there are two, Boulogne and Wissant, whose claims have always stood forth pre-eminent. It was their claims which divided the great European scholars three centuries ago, and which have been the subject of the keenest controversy among our modern antiquaries. I

[1] Sangatte is now a large village, situated on a low cliff beside the sea. It has no port, nor is it easy to see how it ever could have had one. Yet all who have discussed this question are agreed in ascribing to it the character of an ancient port, and I think with reason, for, if it were not a port in ancient times, it would be difficult to account for the Roman remains so frequently found there, or for the Roman road which leads to it from Thérouanne. Possibly Cape Blanc-nez may have projected further seawards two thousand years ago than at present, and so have afforded it something like a shelter from the south-west wind.

shall therefore narrow the question to the issue, Was the Portus Icius Wissant or Boulogne?

In his second transit, Caesar ordered his ships to assemble at the Portus Icius, 'from which port he had ascertained that the passage to Britain was extremely convenient' (B. G. 5. 2)—*commodissimum.* The partizans of Boulogne construe the word as if it signified 'the most convenient;' and a vast amount of learning has been expended to show the superiority of Boulogne as a port over Wissant. Caesar, during his first stay on the coast, was busy providing ships for the transport of his legions, and was at the same time watching the movements of his dangerous neighbours the Morini. Though the busiest man the world ever saw, he had no time for weighing the comparative merits of the ports north and south of him, and for determining which of them was 'the most convenient.' He went into the country of the Morini 'because the passage from thence to Britain was the shortest;' and I believe he selected the Portus Icius because it afforded him this shortest passage.

Closely connected with this part of our inquiry is the question, Which are the ports in Gaul that have at various times been selected as channels of communication between Britain and the Continent? During the Roman occupation of Britain, Gesoriacum, or Boulogne, was the favoured port. The fact cannot be denied, and I admit it most fully. Equally clear, though less known, are the facts, that during the Anglo-Saxon period—that is, from the sixth to the ninth century—Cwanta-wic (now Etaples) was the chief port of communication; that from the tenth to the fifteenth century Wissant[1] enjoyed this honour; and that Calais in its turn succeeded Wissant. It is interesting to speculate on the causes which led to these several changes. Wissant seems to have yielded to Calais because early in the fifteenth century its port was destroyed by one of those sand-storms

[1] This village is generally called Witsand in medieval writings; and we are expressly told that it received this name owing to the white sands with which it was surrounded.

which are so frequent on the opposite coast, and with which all who have been resident there for any length of time must be familiar. Cwanta-wic fell a prey to the Northmen in the latter part of the ninth century; and Wissant may have taken its place, owing, as M. l'Abbé Haigneré suggests (Etude sur le Portus Itius, p. 28), to the growing importance of the Flemish towns in the neighbourhood, and their increasing commerce with England. The motives which induced our ancestors to abandon Gesoriacum (Boulogne) for Cwanta-wic, are not easy to discover, but the reasons which led the Romans to prefer Gesoriacum to the Portus Icius are I think sufficiently obvious. They are, however, too important to be noticed incidentally. They bear directly upon the subject before us, and will require a distinct and careful consideration.

On the eastern coast of the sea which divides England from the Continent, there seems to be a tendency, owing to the action of the tides, to deposit a line of sand-hills across the mouth of any bay which deeply indents the land. To such a belt of sand-hills Holland owes its origin. The whole space between the sand-hills—or downs, as they are called —and the upland, was originally, at high water, a lake, and at low water a collection of mud-banks, through which the great rivers from the interior worked their way, escaping into the sea through gaps in the line of sand-hills. A similar belt of sand-hills stretched across the bay which, no doubt, once existed between the capes Gris-nez and Blanc-nez. The sand-downs still rise from 50 to 60 and 70 feet in height, and stretch from a point east of Gris-nez to Wissant, a little to the west of Blanc-nez. Between these downs and the upland is now a flat sandy plain, some two or three miles long, and varying from a quarter to half a mile in breadth. I think no one can look down upon this plain from any of the neighbouring heights without being convinced that it was formerly what in some parts of England is called a 'backwater.' The waters which cross the plain reach the sea by three outlets in the line of sand-

hills,—the Rieu d'Herlan by an outlet near Wissant; the Rieu des Anguilles, the drain of the *Marais de Tardinghen*, which seems to be the lowest part of the plain, by another gap; and by a third gap further westward, the Rieu du Châtelet. It is probable that these little streams once flowed into the backwater, and that the latter was connected with the sea by a single outlet; and, if I might be allowed to speculate on such slender premises, I would say, that the gap through which flows the Rieu des Anguilles may probably represent the mouth of the ancient port.

At the east end of the plain, near Wissant, are sand-drifts which have evidently been swept there by the prevailing south-west wind. In the midst of these drifts is a little basin, scooped out by the windings of the Rieu d'Herlan, or Wissant brook, and which some antiquaries have mistaken for the medieval port. No doubt it occupies in part the site of this port, for on the banks of the brook have been found balks of timber which it is generally admitted must have been part of the old quay; but a basin surrounded by cliffs of sand cannot be of ancient date, and it certainly does not define the limits of the port of Wissant. What those limits were it is very difficult to say. M. de Saulcy seems to consider them (see Les Campagnes de Jules César, p. 172) as coincident with those of the little plain I have described, and he mentions a tradition which assigns to the port two entrances, one at its eastern and the other at its western extremity. I have myself little faith in traditions, and think it would not be impossible to point out the circumstance in which this particular tradition originated. When in the tenth and eleventh centuries the port of Wissant first began to play a part in history, it seems probable that a large portion of the ancient backwater was already silted up, and that the entry of the medieval port was where the Rieu d'Herlan now enters the sea. At an earlier period, no doubt, it was otherwise, and everything tends to show, that in the time of Caesar

the whole space now occupied by the plain was one continuous port.

Here, then, between Cape Gris-nez and Wissant was formerly a port, amply large enough to contain the 800 ships which on his second transit Caesar collected there. In the offing was a roadstead fairly sheltered, and containing good anchoring ground; and immediately in front was Dover. Caesar might well consider the transit from thence to Britain 'extremely convenient.' How the Romans came to reject all these conveniences of transit and deliberately to select Boulogne as their 'Portus Britannicus,' we have now to inquire.

No one can explore the neighbourhood of Wissant without being struck with its extreme sterility. In one of the dissertations appended to the Histoire de St. Louis, and the existence of which seems to be unknown to our English antiquaries, Du Cange has collected all the learning relative to Wissant, and in spite of himself has shown the poverty of the place and the slenderness of its resources. On one occasion, when two or three hundred travellers had been staying there fourteen or fifteen days, we are told they could hardly obtain food owing to the barrenness of the country. The Boulognese antiquaries dwell with much triumph on these testimonies to the poverty of the rival port; but it is forgotten that these testimonies afford a sufficient answer to the question put forward with so much confidence, viz. how came the Romans to make Boulogne their port of transit during their occupation of Britain, if Wissant were the Portus Icius? Wissant, or rather the port adjacent to Wissant, may have answered Caesar's purpose, when he had hundreds of ships to supply the wants of his commissariat; but when a port was to be provided to meet the ordinary purposes of traffic, it was necessary to select one that possessed local resources. The neighbourhood of Boulogne was, comparatively speaking, fertile, and, as its harbour was not inferior to that of Wissant, the Romans selected it for their port notwithstanding the greater

length of the voyage. If Boulogne was the original terminus of Agrippa's highway, this selection must have been made within thirty years of Caesar's transit, and it certainly must date earlier than the Roman occupation of the island.

During three days I carefully explored the country round Wissant, but found nothing in the neighbourhood which I could venture to call Roman. The several 'mottes,' which have given rise to so much discussion, seemed to me to be of medieval origin, and I looked in vain for anything of a Roman character in the old road which runs from Wissant to Guines. It is undoubtedly the road referred to in the old chronicle quoted by Bergier (Hist. des Grands Chemins, i. 104), but may have come into use in the tenth century as a means of reaching the Roman Road that led from Sangatte to Thérouanne. It is said that a Gallo-Roman tomb has been found at Wissant, but, on the whole, it seems probable that from the time of Caesar to the tenth century the Portus Icius was the subject of little public interest.

As I extended my wanderings, I obtained ready answers to many of the objections which have been brought against the views I am now advocating. Caesar tells us that, at his first transit, the eighteen ships of burden which conveyed his cavalry were kept from joining him, owing to their being wind-bound, eight miles off, in what he calls 'the further' (B. G. 4. 23), and in another place 'the upper port' (B. G. 4. 28). Sangatte, it is urged, is six miles, and Calais eleven miles from Wissant, the first distance being too short and the latter too long. The answer is an easy one. Wissant was not built till centuries after Caesar's time, and lies at the eastern extremity of the Portus Icius. We have only to suppose that Caesar's camp lay near the middle of the port, and we at once get the eight miles to Sangatte.

On the return from Britain two of the ships missed their port, and landed the 300 soldiers they carried a few miles

to the southward, probably at Ambleteuse. As the soldiers were making their way to the camp, they were attacked by some thousands of the Morini, but bravely defended themselves till relieved by the cavalry sent to their assistance. The next day Caesar despatched Labienus against the Morini, and as this people, 'on account of the drying up of the marshes (*paludum*), had no refuge to betake themselves to, as they had the previous summer, almost all of them fell into the power of Labienus' (B. G. 4. 38). It has been asked, where can we find these marshes except to the south of Boulogne? I know of no fen-district which is now to be found in the country of the Morini south of Wissant; but in Caesar's time every brook must have had its marsh, and no one who has explored the Slacq-valley and its tributaries above Ambleteuse will be at a loss to discover the locality where, under ordinary circumstances, the delinquent Morini might have found a refuge. This valley has a bottom some half-a-mile broad, flat as the fens of Cambridgeshire, and stretching for miles into the country. Even at the present day, after a rainfall, much of the valley is under water.

It has always seemed to me that the language of the classical geographers goes far to disprove the identity of Gesoriacum (Boulogne) and the Portus Icius. When Ptolemy mentions the Ician promontory, and immediately afterwards Gesoriacum, we might have expected him to call the latter place the Ician Port, if it ever really bore that name; and it certainly is strange, if we assume the identity of the two places, that Boulogne is never called by that name, notwithstanding the frequent references made to Gesoriacum in classical history. But the strongest argument is, perhaps, furnished by the language of Strabo. This geographer tells us (Geogr. 4. v. 2) there were four ways of passing over to the island, viz. from the mouths of the Rhine, of the Seine, of the Loire and the Garonne; and he proceeds: 'when people sail from the country near the Rhine, the voyage is not actually from the mouth of the

river, but from the country of the Morini, who border on the Menapii, among whom also is the Itium, which the deified Caesar used as his port when he passed over to the island.' Every Boulognese will admit that this usual port of transit which Strabo refers to must be Boulogne; and every unprejudiced reader, I think, will be of opinion that he distinguishes it from his 'Itium.'

When describing the coast of Gaul, Ptolemy mentions three places as lying between the Seine and the Scheldt—the river Phrudis, the Ician promontory and the port of Gesoriacum. As the only river of importance on the coast is the Somme, and the only promontory of importance is Cape Gris-nez, the great French geographers, D'Anville, Walckenaer, and others, identify the river Phrudis with the Somme, and the Ician Promontory with Cape Gris-nez. In so doing they assume that Ptolemy has committed a blunder in placing the Ician promontory before, instead of after Gesoriacum. This kind of blundering is not unfrequent with the author who assigns London to Kent, and fixes the second Legion at the Isca of the Damnonii, instead of the Isca of the Silures; and such blundering need not surprise us, when we remember how great were the difficulties of the task he had undertaken. The partisans of Boulogne, as might have been expected, refuse to abide by this decision. They fix the Ician promontory at Cape Alpreck, a little south of Boulogne, and tell us that it once projected much further seaward than at present. This is probably true, for the cliffs both on the French and the English coast have certainly been much wasted by the action of the tides and of the weather. But there is nothing that gives importance to Cape Alpreck save its connexion with this 'Ician controversy'; whereas Cape Gris-nez is the most important point on the French coast north of the Seine. At Cape Gris-nez, the coast, which has hitherto trended to the north, begins to turn eastward. It is this cape, moreover, which, together with the cliffs of Dover, forms the Straits, and which the Dutch must have

had in view when they gave the Straits the name of *De Hofden*—the headlands. South of this cape the flood-tide flows to the eastward, while north of it the tide changes its course and flows to the north-eastward. The importance of Cape Gris-nez, indeed, cannot be overlooked, and is still fully recognised. On it the French Government have lately exhibited one of those magnificent lights which put our English lighthouses to shame, and which, with commendable pride, they are now enshrining in a structure built of the most costly materials. Cape Gris-nez, there can hardly be a doubt, was the Ician promontory, and if so, the great port which lay beneath it must have been the Ician Port.

Amid that vast mass of authorities which Du Cange has brought together respecting Wissant are extracts from William of Poitiers and William of Jumièges. The latter of these writers tells us that the young prince, the brother of the Confessor, who was murdered soon after his landing in England, sailed from Witsand; while the other tells us that he sailed from the Portus Icius. Du Cange points to this testimony as making strongly in his favour. M. Haigneré considers that it merely adds one more to the number of the partisans of Wissant (Étude, &c., p. 59). The answer is hardly worthy of a man so able, for it assumes that the 'Ician controversy,' and all the partisanship it has given rise to, were known in the eleventh century! It might, however, be said—true this Norman monk calls Wissant the Portus Icius—in his days it was the ordinary means of communication with Britain, and he naturally supposed it was used by Caesar. I believe this answer would have no sounder foundation to rest on than that of M. Haigneré, but it is much more difficult to dispose of. The knowledge of classical literature possessed by the educated monks of the Middle Ages, though a subject of very interesting inquiry, has been hitherto but little investigated. They were well acquainted with the classical poets, and even with some of the classical historians, but seem to have been almost en-

tirely ignorant of Caesar's Commentaries. I know, indeed, of two instances in which the Commentaries are quoted previously to the eleventh century, but in both instances with considerable parade of learning. In the present case, we must suppose that William of Poitiers quotes them familiarly, and expects his reader to be equally well acquainted with them. I cannot believe that either the one or the other possessed this knowledge. It may be asked, whence then did William of Poitiers get the name of Portus Icius? I would answer, most probably from that current of obscure literature which, from the nature of things, we might assume to have existed, and which many facts connected with our national history prove, almost to demonstration, did exist during the Middle Ages. It seems to have consisted mainly of chronicles, of compilations like that of Nennius, and of national songs. By this means the name of *Icius*, which must originally have been nothing more than the latinized form of some Celtic word, may have come down to William of Poitiers. The old Irish name for the English Channel is *Muir n' Icht*, and Donovan, the first of modern Irish scholars, translates it without hesitation 'the Ician Sea.' Dr. Reeves, in a note to his Life of Adamnan, follows Donovan's example. Neither of these scholars gives any reason in support of the translation, but I think, nevertheless, that it may be supported. *Muir n' Icht* means the 'Sea of the Icht.' The word *icht* is found in no Irish dictionary or glossary with which I am acquainted, but the Gaelic *uchd* means 'the brow of a hill' (vide Gaelic Dict. of the Highland Society); *Muir n' Icht* may therefore signify the 'Sea of the Promontory,' and we are at once referred to the Ician promontory of Ptolemy. I know of no Gaelic word of which *uchd* can be a derivative, but in the Welsh there is an adjective, *uch*, higher, which may very well be its root. If we might assume that in ancient Celtic *uch* was used as a substantive in the sense of *height*, then we see at once the origin of the word *Icius*, and perhaps may account for all the variations that are

found in the MSS., viz. *Icius*, *Ictius*, and *Itius*. *Icius* and *Ictius* may represent the Celtic words *uch* and *uchd*, and *Itius* be a corruption of *Ictius*. When in Celtic a guttural precedes a dental, it is very commonly melted into a breathing and lost; thus the *Caractac-us* of Tacitus became in Dion and Zonaras *Karatak-os*, in modern Welsh *Caradawg*, and in English *Cradock*.

Briefly to recapitulate—I believe the port which once existed between Cape Gris-nez and Wissant to be the Portus Icius: 1st, because it afforded the shortest passage to Britain, 2ndly, because it was amply large enough for Caesar's purposes, 3rdly, because it lay immediately beneath Cape Gris-nez, which I believe to be the Ician promontory, and lastly, because a Norman monk in the eleventh century expressly calls it the Portus Icius; and I think this name may have been handed down to him by the Romanized Gauls, inasmuch as the name of Ician seems to have been long kept afloat in the recollection of the Celtic population of these islands.

In his first invasion of Britain Caesar carried over with him two legions, probably from 8,000 to 10,000 men. Some of his vessels in the 'further port' could not join him for the wind. His means of transport were eighty ships of burthen, and a certain number of 'long ships' or galleys, perhaps in all a hundred sail. On the fourth day after he reached Britain there was a full moon, and we may, with much probability, fix the day of his sailing to the 25th of August in the year 55 B.C. He weighed anchor at midnight (B. G. 4. 23), and as it was half-way to low water at that time on the French coast, and as the Portus Icius was, no doubt, a tidal harbour, he must have brought out his ships as occasion served at high water, and sailed from the offing.

The wind was suitable (*idonea tempestas*), and as on his second invasion he sailed with a south-west wind (B. G. 5. 8), and as a south-west wind would keep the vessels in the 'further port' wind-bound, we may presume that he

sailed with the wind in that quarter. The presumption is strengthened on our finding, that when on the occasion of his second transit he first ordered his troops on board, he uses the very same expression, and speaks of the wind as 'suitable' (B. G. 5. 7). If, then, as is probable[1], he steered for Dover, he would have the wind nearly abeam or at right angles to his course. His first vessels reached the opposite coast by ten the next morning, but the whole fleet was not assembled there till three in the afternoon. He found the cliffs covered with armed men, and so closely was the sea hemmed in by these cliffs, that a missile could be hurled from the heights upon the shore[2]. Like Halley and the majority of our English antiquaries, I recognise in this description the cliffs near Dover, and I suppose that Caesar's fleet was moored in Dover-wick, the roadstead which lies between Dover and the South Foreland, and is commanded by the guns of the castle.

The slowness of the passage is remarkable. The vessels of burthen, which of course were the laggards, were country-built ships. These Gaulish vessels are elsewhere described by Caesar (B. G. 3. 13). Their sails were of skins, and they had, strange to say, chain-cables; their keels were flatter than those of the Roman vessels, to enable them to take the ground more easily at low water, and they were raised to a great height both at stem and stern; their timbers were all of oak, and of such stout scantling, and so strongly put together, that the beaks of the Roman galleys could make no impression upon them. They were evidently huge vessels, built almost solely with a view to strength, and therefore their slow rate of sailing need not surprise us. But even the Roman 'long ships' were ten hours in

[1] From the heights near Wissant may be seen the whole of the English coast from Sandgate to the South Foreland, and a beautiful sight it is, a long line of white cliff broken in the middle by the gap, in which lies Dover. This gap at once fixes the attention and is the only well-defined landmark within view.

[2] Adeò montibus angustis mare continebatur, uti ex locis superioribus in littus telum adjici posset (B. G. 4. 23).

crossing; and as the flood and the ebb may to some extent have counterbalanced each other, I do not think that the tide-drift will altogether account for such slow progress. On certain occasions Roman ships are known to have sailed seven miles an hour; but in such cases, whenever reference is made to the wind, we always find it was right astern. What was the rate of sailing when the wind was nearly abeam I do not know, but I suspect it was extremely slow. The ordinary Roman galley was propelled by a single square mainsail, for though it carried a small foresail on a raking mast, such foresail was evidently used less to propel the vessel than to swing it round when tacking. The motive power must have been applied much in the same way as that which acts upon a Chinese junk. The junk, as is well known, makes good way before a wind, but with the wind abeam is little better than a log upon the water. Caesar's vessels too were probably ill built; they were put together in a hurry (*celeriter*, B. G. 3. 9), and by imperfectly-skilled workmen; for though Caesar sent for sailors, rowers, and pilots from 'the Province,' he says nothing about ship-wrights, and there can be no doubt that the ships were constructed by the artisans of the legions, to whom he entrusted their reparation when they were damaged by the storm (B. G. 4. 31). When we remember, also, that these 'long ships' formed part of a fleet, and would naturally have their speed in some measure accommodated to that of the other vessels; that the sailors and pilots were from the Mediterranean, and strangers to the perplexing currents and the short jerking waves of the new sea, I think our surprise will be the less, when we find their rate of sailing *through the water* was barely two miles an hour. The difficulties we have been considering will be diminished only in a trifling degree by supposing that Caesar sailed from Boulogne.

Caesar reached Britain at ten o'clock in the morning, but, 'judging the place by no means a suitable one for landing, he waited at anchor to the ninth hour (three o'clock in the

afternoon)[1], till the rest of the vessels were assembled there. In the meantime, having called together the Legati and the military tribunes, he told them what he had learnt from Volusenus, and what he wished to have done, &c. When these were dismissed, having got at the same time *both wind and tide* in his favour, he gave the signal, and weighing anchor, advanced some seven or eight miles (the MSS. differ as to the distance) from that place, and brought the ships to on a level and open shore[2].' The question is, did he advance eastward or westward?

Halley, arguing from the present state of the tidal currents, concluded, that on the day when Caesar reached Britain, it was low water off that place about two (he should have said half-past one) in the afternoon; that at three the flood-tide was well made up, and that Caesar proceeded with it eastward towards Deal; and he speaks with singular confidence as to the correctness of these results. He seems to have thought that, after slack water the flood-tide ran for five or six hours to high water, and then after a pause the ebb-tide ran for five or six hours to low water, and so on. This is not the law which prevails in narrow channels like those of rivers, or in narrow seas like that which separates Britain from the

[1] Roman hours coincided with our modern hours only at the equinoxes, and as Caesar sailed three or four weeks before the autumnal equinox, his ninth hour did not coincide with our '3 o'clock in the afternoon.' But all who have hitherto treated on these subjects have assumed the coincidence of our own and Roman hours, and to make the necessary corrections would not only require some nice calculation, but would render it difficult to lay the present speculations side by side with the arguments of those who have preceded me. I have preferred therefore to use language not altogether correct, rather than perplex the reader with niceties that relate to matters of subordinate interest, and do not materially affect the issues, on which, as it seems to me, the decision of the question now before us mainly rests.

[2] Hunc ad egrediendum nequaquam idoneum arbitratus locum, dum reliquae naves eò convenirent, ad horam nonam in anchoris expectavit. Interim legatis tribunisque militum convocatis, et quae ex Voluseno cognôsset, et quae fieri vellet, ostendit: monuitque, &c. His dimissis, et ventum et aestum uno tempore nactus secundum, dato signo et sublatis anchoris, circiter millia passuum vii. ab eo loco progressus, aperto ac plano littore naves constituit (B. G. 4. 23).

Continent. In such cases the flood-tide begins to flow two or three hours before high water, and *continues to flow two or three hours after it*, then after a pause the ebb-tide flows two or three hours to low water, *and two or three hours after it*, and so on. This general law, however, is subject to many exceptions; a headland may divert the current, or an estuary produce in it the most extraordinary disturbances, so that no man, however great his analytical skill may be, can calculate from mere theory what will be the state of the tide at a given time, at any particular place in the English Channel: it can only be learnt from observation. Professor Airy, to whom we owe the ablest work on the tides that has yet appeared[1], at once saw the weak point in Halley's argument. With that eminently practical turn of mind which distinguishes him he consulted Captain Beechey, who had been officially employed in investigating these currents, and satisfied himself that the ebb-tide was still flowing at three o'clock, and, accordingly, he carried Caesar's fleet with it to the westward. Mr. Lewin, who brings Caesar from Boulogne to Folkestone, following Professor Airy's example, carries him westward and lands him at Hythe. Dr. Cardwell, who appears to have paid much attention to the tides off Folkestone, distinguished between the in-shore and mid-channel currents, and thought he had good grounds for maintaining that near shore the flood-tide would make as early as three o'clock, and might very well have carried Caesar eastwards towards Deal. I may say in passing that my own observations at Folkestone strongly corroborate those of Dr. Cardwell, but unfortunately I cannot avail myself of them, as, according to my theory, Caesar's fleet was moored at Dover-wick. Captain Beechey's observations, confirmed as they have been by those more recently made by order of the Admiralty, show clearly enough that, if we admit the premisses, the tide off Dover at three o'clock in the afternoon of the day in which Caesar

[1] Of course I refer to the admirable essay by Professor Airy which appeared in the Encyclopaedia Metropolitana.

reached Britain must have been flowing to the westward. As I believe Caesar's fleet sailed in the opposite direction, I can only extricate myself from the dilemma by attacking the premisses on which the conclusion is founded.

It is a curious circumstance that French and English antiquaries put different constructions on Caesar's language. Our countrymen seem to consider the words *in anchoris* to form, as it were, a substantive part of the verb *expectavit*, as if the sentence might be rendered, 'to the ninth hour he lay at anchor waiting for the assembling of the other ships.' The Frenchman appears to consider them as parenthetic, and would, I presume, construe 'to the ninth hour he waited (at anchor) for the assembling,' &c. This construction[1] admits of there being a certain interval between the assembling of the ships and the time of Caesar's departure; and as the military tribunes were legionary officers, it is not very easy to see how Caesar could give them his orders till all the ships carrying the legionary soldiers had come in. M. de Saulcy assumes ('Campagnes de J. C.' p. 193) that an hour and a half were spent in making the necessary preparations for departure, and he starts Caesar at half-past four, when he supposes that the flood-tide was making towards Deal. Of course, if we admit there was an interval, it can be accommodated to any hypothesis, and all the reasoning of

[1] I have been asked to state more explicitly my own view of the construction of the passage in question. It may be done in a few words. The phrase *expectare dum*, to wait for the happening of a certain event, is a well-known Latin idiom; and *in anchoris expectare dum* can only mean, to wait at anchor for the happening of the event. If we add the words *ad horam nonam*, surely we make the ninth hour the limit, not of lying at anchor, but of waiting for the event. I do not see how M. de Saulcy's translation can be questioned.

Our countrymen seem to have been misled by the emphasis given to the words *in anchoris*, owing to their collocation immediately before the verb. The words are certainly emphasized, but I think the significance of the emphasis has been mistaken. Caesar probably steered for Dover with the view of landing his men as the vessels came in, but finding his landing opposed, he awaited the arrival of his other vessels *in anchoris*, i.e. in the roadstead. The emphasis marks the change of plan occasioned by the unexpected opposition he met with.

our English antiquaries, from the time of Halley, downwards, falls at once to the ground.

But there is another objection, which seems to me to be no less fatal to the arguments usually adduced in support of the opinion I am now combating. I shall venture to ask whether we are justified in reasoning from present phenomena to the state of the tides in the time of Caesar?—whether the conditions of the problem are the same now as they were 2000 years ago?—whether, in short, the alterations in the coast-line of Kent have been so insignificant that they may be safely neglected in the calculation? In discussing the question I shall put out of view the waste of the cliffs and the more substantial parts of the coast—first, because I believe this waste has been overrated, and, secondly, because in all probability it has been, on the whole, pretty equably distributed, so that the general outline of the coast may not be greatly altered, though it may be now more inland than formerly. What I want more particularly to call the reader's attention to are the changes which have been wrought in the marshes, the sands, and the shingle-beds of the Kentish coast.

We will begin with the Romney Marshes. No one now doubts that the portion of the Marshes called Old Romney Marsh was 'inned' by the Romans; and as it is protected from the sea by the spit of shingle which runs from Hythe to New Romney, we may conclude that thus far the present coast coincided with that which existed in the time of Caesar. According to Mr. Elliott, the very intelligent engineer of the Marshes, the Rother formerly emptied itself at New Romney, and there, accordingly, must have been the inlet by which the tide originally entered. By a cautious and well-reasoned induction, Mr. Elliott arrives at the following conclusions: that an inland spit of shingle called 'Lydd Rypes' was the ancient beach south of this inlet, in the time of Caesar, the remainder of Dungeness being a later accretion from the sea,—that this spit was prolonged across the bight formed by the Rother when it scooped out its

present channel in the thirteenth century,—and that Old Winchelsea stood on this prolongation of the spit, many circumstances conspiring to fix the site of the lost town in this position. What then must have been the course of the tide-wave in these days of old? It must have come up the Channel uninterruptedly along a coast of gentle curvature, and at New Romney must have been swallowed by an estuary spreading over some 50,000 acres. From this estuary it is now excluded, and instead of the uninterrupted flow I have described, it is dashed against the shingle-beds of Dungeness. Diverted from its course, it runs round the Ness with a current like a mill-race, and forms on the other side, in Romney Hoy, a strong eddy, so that when a vessel is wrecked (as too often happens) on the west side of the Ness it throws up its timbers and the bodies of the poor fellows who went down in it in this Romney Hoy. Can we readily imagine a greater derangement of the tidal currents?

Let us now pass north of Dover to the Goodwin Sands. All the antiquaries who have lately discussed the present question assume that these sands existed in the time of Caesar. Is this probable? Somner, who is preeminently the antiquary of Kent, informs us that, 'with several men of judgment, it (*i. e.* the Goodwin) is looked on as a piece of later emergency than Earl Goodwyn' (Roman Forts, p. 24); while Sir Thomas More's story of the Tenterden steeple shows us that, in his opinion, the sands were of recent origin; and his testimony is valuable, for, though not a Kentish man, he was brought up in the household of Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury, who died in 1500; and we may infer that such at that period was the opinion of educated men who had local knowledge, and, therefore, the best means of information. Leland (vii. 138) attributed the decay of Sandwich to the Goodwin Sands, and as Sandwich was a flourishing port in the fourteenth century, we may infer that it was not till the fifteenth that the sands attained those formidable dimensions which produced so

much mischief. John Twine, of Canterbury, that 'learned old man,' as Camden calls him, describes, on the authority of 'certain writers,' an island named Lomea, the history of which he connects with that of the Goodwin Sands. According to him, it was exceedingly fertile and abounding in pastures, and was once the property of Earl Godwin. It was somewhat less elevated than Thanet, from which it was three or four miles distant, and it was swept away during a terrific storm and an unusually high tide (De Rebus Albionicis, Lib. I. p. 27). As Lomea is not mentioned in Domesday, it was probably destroyed before that compilation was made. Hector Boethius has also given us a short account of the Goodwins, which, as far as it goes, is in perfect agreement with that we have taken from the pages of John Twine. The conclusion these considerations point to is confirmed by the names given to the celebrated anchoring grounds off Deal and Sandown Castle—viz. the Downs and the Small Downs. The word *downs* signifies sand-hills, and in this sense is well known on both sides of the Channel. Immediately north of Sandown Castle is a tract of land covered with low sand-hills, and which in the older maps of Kent—Philipot's for example—is called the 'smale downes.' The sea has long been eating away this tract of sand-hills, and even within my memory the changes wrought have been most extraordinary. The sea has lately reached the fort, which has been dismantled and sold, and in a few months every vestige of Sandown Castle will have disappeared. I can only account for the name given to the anchorage by supposing that it once formed part of these 'smale downes'; and for a similar reason I infer that the Downs were also at one time dry land covered with sand-hills. As the land was, probably, from the first, nothing but a mud-bank covered with sand, a deep channel might easily be scooped out of it. In the Romney Marshes the sea-silt has been found on boring to be fully ninety feet deep.

I think there can be little doubt that the flats round Sandwich once projected into the sea as a low ness or fore-

land—probably divided into islands, of which Lomea was the easternmost. After the destruction of this island, the Goodwin Sands may have been gradually accumulated, not necessarily on the site of the island, but near it, and the Downs just as gradually excavated. If I have been correctly informed, the Goodwins are still slowly growing to the southward, and the Small Downs are certainly, and by no means slowly, enlarging their boundaries. How altered has been the working of the tides in this neighbourhood appears from the fact that the beach now thrown up at Deal and Sandown is shingle, whereas we have very clear proof that it once was sand.

It may be well to recapitulate the several changes in the coast-line, on which I rely to support my inference as to there having been *some* changes in the inshore tidal currents. They are—the contraction of the Thames estuary owing to the inning of its marshes, the silting up of the Wantsum, through which we know that vessels sailed as late as the fifteenth century, the formation of the Goodwin Sands, the excavation of that deep-sea channel called The Downs, the inning of the Romney Marshes, and the creation of Dungeness—and by the creation of Dungeness I do not mean merely the accretions of shingle that have been added to it since the time of Caesar, but the entirely new configuration given to it owing to the bight which the Rother excavated, when it formed its present channel some five centuries ago. These are not 'changemens peu considérables,' according to the language adopted by General Creuly[1], but changes

[1] General Creuly's Étude was, I believe, in type when my papers in the Athenaeum appeared. They must, I fear, have been very distasteful to him, for they ran counter to some of his most cherished speculations. These speculations seem to be the General's test of orthodoxy. When Professor Airy agrees with them, his decision is represented as authoritative; when he differs from them, his views are thrown aside as of little value. General Creuly starts Caesar from Ambleteuse and lands him at Fort Sutherland, in the Romney Marshes. These mistakes—for such I must consider them—may, I think, be traced chiefly to his ignorance of the localities. He seems to have been at Deal, but it is pretty clear that he never saw Sangatte or Wissant. I have doubts if he is even acquainted with Ambleteuse, and I am sure he never visited the

of enormous magnitude, such as are without parallel elsewhere on the British coast, or indeed on the coast opposite, if we except the changes that have taken place in Holland. What effect these changes would have on the inshore currents I believe no one can tell. The laws which regulate these currents are to the last degree perplexing. They evidently depend on complex causes, and cannot be treated as mere corollaries to the law which regulates the great tide-drift in mid-channel. No one by the mere aid of calculation can say for how long a time the tide will run on a given day, at a given place, on the coast of the English Channel. The modern theories which have been started on the subject of the tides, admirable though they be, cannot solve the problem. The learned mathematician is on a level with the illiterate; both must trust to 'the practical man,' and wait for 'observations.' To assume that changes, such as I have enumerated, could not affect the inshore currents off Dover, seems to me an assumption much too hazardous to reason from.

If we hesitate to yield our assent to conclusions drawn from the state of the tides, we are necessarily thrown back upon the statements made by the classical writers. Caesar tells us he 'advanced' (*progressus*)[1], and from the language he usually employs we may presume it was to the north-eastward; for he calls the western parts of Britain 'the lower part of the island' (B. G. 4. 28), and it is generally admitted that the 'upper' or 'further port' was to the north of the Portus Icius. According to a passage in Dion (Hist. Rom. 39. 51), which Halley relied on, Caesar went round a certain headland, and landed on the other side. The rounding of the South Foreland is the chief incident of the voyage from Dover-wick to Deal; and this promontory

Romney Marshes, for no French officer who possessed local knowledge could under Caesar's circumstances have thought of landing 10,000 men in the neighbourhood of Fort Sutherland.

[1] Mr. Lewin was the first to point out the argument that might be raised on the use of this word by Caesar, and it was much to the credit of his candour, as it made strongly against the theory he had adopted.

was the only one on the coast, for Dungeness was not then in existence. He brought his ships to a coast, level and open (B. G. 4. 23). and soft (B. G. 5. 9). All these conditions are fulfilled if we suppose Caesar to have landed on some of the marshy lands off Deal. If we land him at Hythe, though the shore be level, it can hardly be called open, for there is a range of heights at no great distance, and the word *soft* seems strangely out of place when applied to a bed of shingle. It has been said that the shingle was soft 'in a sailor's sense,' as it would 'give' when a vessel was beached upon it. But I know of no authority for assigning to it this meaning, and it surely indicates a soft, oozy and muddy shore. Can we suppose that Caesar would land close to Hythe harbour (the Portus Lemanis) without once alluding to it, or upon a bed of shingle, where his only means of obtaining water for 8,000 or 10,000 men would be from his ships?

As regards the length of the passage from the Continent to Britain, we get the thirty miles at which Caesar rates it (B. G. 5. 2) by adding seven miles to the distance from Wissant to Dover. He reckoned, no doubt, as D'Anville pointed out, from the port of departure to the place of landing.

On his second transit, Caesar carried over from thirty to forty thousand men, and sailed about sunset with a gentle south-west wind (B. G. 5. 8). He had with him 800 ships, most of them small, flat-bottomed vessels, constructed specially with the view of landing the soldiers in shallow waters, and of being afterwards drawn up on land; the time was, probably, the latter end of July, and we may conjecture that he steered for Dover. At midnight the wind fell, and the fleet drifted with the tide, so that at daybreak they found they had left Britain on their left hand. The tide then turning in their favour, they betook themselves to their oars, and about noon reached their former landing-place. D'Anville supposes they drifted into the Thames, and that six or seven hours' rowing, with the tide in their

favour, would carry them beyond Deal, and he therefore lands them at Hythe. But the drift could not possibly carry them where D'Anville supposes. The flood-tide runs to the north-east; and if we draw a line of eight or ten miles towards Dover, to represent the space sailed over, and then one of fourteen or fifteen miles to the north-east, to represent the drift, we shall have the position of Caesar's fleet at daybreak. They would, at that time, have the Dover cliffs on their larboard bow, and would be about as far distant from them as when they first started. The ebb-tide would, perhaps, about counterbalance the error produced by the flood; but, on the lowest computation, they would have to make some twenty miles *through the water* before they reached their former landing-place. When we remember the kind of vessels they were rowing, the soldiers fairly earned the compliment they received for their exertions (B. G. 5. 8).

The Britons, affrighted at the vast number of vessels, deserted the shore and took refuge in the hills (*loca superiora*, B. G. 5. 8), and the same night Caesar marched against them to the banks of a certain river about twelve miles off. The Britons opposed the passage of the river with horsemen and chariots drawn up on the hill side, but they were repulsed, and retired to a wood where was a fortified post—no doubt a British *oppidum*, such as Caesar has elsewhere described, and, probably, the stronghold of one of the four petty kings who, at that time, bore rule in Kent. The stronghold was attacked, and, after some little trouble, taken by Caesar.

I believe this stronghold was the capital of the district of which Canterbury is now the centre; but our antiquaries make a great mistake when they suppose this city to occupy its site. Canterbury represents the Roman *castellum*, and the Romans generally built their *castellum* two or three miles from the British *oppidum*. If we pass two or three miles down the Stour, we shall find a locality which answers all the demands of Caesar's narrative. North of the river is

a range of low hills, on which still lie large masses of natural wood. The river runs at the foot of the hills, and to the south of it is a flat country which stretches away towards Sandwich and Deal. The latter place is about twelve miles distant.

Those who maintain that Caesar landed at Hythe suppose that the night march carried him to Wye. But at Wye the Stour is a mere brook, and there is nothing to justify us in supposing that there was ever a British fortress in the neighbourhood. It has, indeed, been assumed that this was the highway to Canterbury, and that a fortress was erected to bar the pass, which has been termed 'the British Thermopylae.' But if Caesar wanted to reach Canterbury, why did he not at once march over the downs in the direction in which the Roman Road was afterwards carried? The distance from Hythe to Canterbury was little greater than that to Wye, and the road to the one was as easy as to the other.

While on this subject of topography, it may be well to notice an objection that has been brought against Deal as the place of Caesar's landing. The neighbourhood of Caesar's landing-place, it has been said, was a mixture of woodland and arable; the uplands round Deal are a chalk district, unsuited for corn crops and perfectly open. It might be answered that these uplands are every autumn white with corn; and if it be said this is the result of modern farming, I might reply that a system of long fallows might be a substitute for sheep-husbandry. It is a mistake to suppose that the shallow soils were not formerly cultivated; I have seen undoubted marks of ancient cultivation in localities where a modern farmer would long hesitate before he risked his capital. The disappearance of the woodlands is what might have been expected. Where are now many of our great historical forests,—Arden and Braden, for example? They have been long swept from the face of the country. On the Downs further south, where the sward barely covers the chalk, and the profits of

the woodland equal those of the arable, we find the woodlands preserved; and the same character of country, no doubt, once extended to Deal—a wide, undulating plain, dotted over with beechwoods.

Camden quotes Nennius as stating that Caesar fought at Dole, and he supposes the name to be the Welsh word Dol, which is generally said to mean a plain beside a river. This word, no doubt, gave a name to the town of Dol in Brittany, which, like our Deal, is situated on the borders of an alluvial plain. It may have been the British name for the flats round Sandwich, and gradually appropriated to designate the seaport which arose on their confines. When D'Anville affects to place the testimony of Nennius on the same level with that of Geoffrey of Monmouth, he shows a want of critical discrimination. But the passage Camden refers to is certainly surrounded with difficulties, arising from the variations in the MSS. It was, no doubt, a subject of blunder and mistake as early as the tenth century, and the attempts made by copyists to explain the mistakes, have increased the confusion. Dropping an obvious interpolation, the Vatican copy furnishes the following extract, which will, I think, give the text much as it was read by Camden:—'Tunc iulius caesar cum accepisset totius orbis singulare imperium et primus obtineret, valde iratus ad brytanniam cum LX ceolis pervenit in ostio fluminis tamensis, in quo naufragium naves illius perpessae sunt dum ille pugnaret apud dolo bellum . . . . . et iulius reversus est sine victoria caesis militibus fractisque navibus.'

The use of the phrase '*apud dolo*' strengthens my belief in the genuineness and the antiquity of this fragment, which was probably taken, at least portions of it, from some very ancient chronicle. *Dolo* is, no doubt, one of those monoptote or undeclined nouns which occur so frequently in the Itineraries, and appear to have gone not long afterwards out of fashion. When the Wantsum was open, the country round Deal and Sandwich might very well be described as lying at the mouth of the Thames; and I think we may point to

this fragment as bearing something like historical evidence in our favour, when we venture to fix upon Deal as the place where Caesar landed.

It is a source of no small comfort to me, differing as I do in these speculations from many whom I respect, to find that, both as regards the port of departure and the place of landing, I am in so close an agreement with a man like Camden.

LETTER TO 'THE ATHENAEUM' OF SEPTEMBER 26, 1863.

SANDFORD PARK, OXON, *Sept.* 17, 1863.

SOME days back the Secretary of the Archaeological Institute forwarded to me the *Athenaeum* of September 5 and the *Reader* of the same date[1]. The former contained an article by my friend Professor Airy, in which he notices the paper I wrote on 'Caesar's Invasions of Britain'; and the latter an article on the same subject by Mr. George Long, of the Brighton College. I wish to make a few observations in reply.

When discussing the locality of the Portus Icius, I stated that I should narrow the question to the issue whether the Portus Icius was Wissant or Boulogne. In France, where, for well-known reasons, the subject has of late excited more than usual interest, there seems to be an inclination to favour the claims of the latter port; and my lecture was chiefly directed to meet the acute and learned criticism which during the last year or two has been brought to bear on this side of the controversy. It was not my intention to examine the theory propounded by Professor Airy. It has always appeared to me that the language both of Caesar and of Strabo imperatively required that we should fix the Portus Icius in the country of the Morini; and any theory which did not admit this postulate fell without the limits to which I had expressly confined my inquiry.

[1] An abstract of the papers here referred to will be found below, pp. 373 sq.

I quoted the well-known passage in Strabo (Geogr. 4. v. 2), in which he describes the Morini as the people 'among whom (παρ' οἷς) was the Itium, which the deified Caesar used as his port,' &c. My friend objects to this translation, and would construe '*near* to whom is the Itium,' &c.; and he would make Strabo an authority for fixing the Portus Icius *without* instead of within the country of the Morini. If the antecedent to Strabo's relative had signified the *land* of the Morini instead of the Morini themselves, I should have bowed to this criticism. When the dative governed by παρα signifies some individual thing, place, or person, the preposition must certainly be rendered *beside* or *near to*; but when the dative includes many or several individuals, the preposition is properly rendered by the word *among*. I do not see how I could have construed the passage otherwise than I have done.

Professor Airy considers that a 'pool-harbour'—the expression is a very happy one—such as I have described at Wissant, would 'not be competent to receive a large fleet'; and he refers to several such back-waters that are quite useless for harbour purposes. But there is a locality on our own coast within sight of Wissant, and well-known to history, which he seems to have overlooked. The old harbour at Hythe—the Portus Lemanis of the Romans, and one of the most celebrated of the Cinque Ports—was a pool-harbour of this description. Notwithstanding the derangement occasioned by the construction of the military canal and the encroaching suburbs of a country town, we may still, with the aid of Mr. Elliott's little map, trace out very satisfactorily the limits of this once famous port. It appears to have been formed by a spit of shingle running almost parallel to the coast, to have received the waters of three little streamlets, and to have had but one outlet through the shingle to the sea. It seems to have been gradually silted up, but as late as the beginning of the sixteenth century it was described by Leland as 'a sure gut of a large mile.' The fortunes of this port—the physical

conditions to which it owed its origin, its ancient importance, gradual decay and final ruin—bear the most striking analogy to those of Wissant. The only point of difference is, that the one port was protected from the sea by a spit of shingle and the other by a belt of sand-hills.

Professor Airy considers that there are only two instances on record of entire fleets escaping 'from their sheltering port each at a single tide,'—viz. the fleet of Julius Caesar and that of William the Conqueror; and he asks, 'Could the pool-harbour, with its difficult entrances, supposed by Dr. Guest, or any of the small Picard ports, permit this?' I do not see how this question affects my argument, as it was no part of my theory that Caesar's fleet did escape from its port at a single tide. I supposed that his ships left the harbour for the roadstead at high water; but whether at one, two, or three tides was left uncertain. From the roadstead no doubt all the vessels sailed away together; but several tides may have flowed before all the vessels left the harbour and anchored in the roadstead.

I was well aware of the objections that might be urged to my theory, owing to the slowness of Caesar's transit, and I placed the difficulty honestly before the reader. Perhaps in my anxiety to deal fairly by him I somewhat exaggerated it. I met it—whether successfully or not the reader must judge—by pointing to the hasty and probably unskilful construction of the galleys, to the inexperience of the sailors and pilots, to the indisposition that would be felt to part company with the slower vessels of the fleet, and, lastly, to the direction of the wind. It is said the fleet sailed under 'circumstances which are expressly described as favourable'; but the words *idonea tempestas* seem to indicate a suitable wind—that is, one that would permit the vessels to sail—rather than one that was 'favourable' to the passage; and it blew, in all probability, from the south-west quarter. Now, the ordinary Roman galley was propelled by a single square mainsail; for though it carried a small foresail on a raking mast, such foresail was evidently

used less to propel the vessel than to swing it round when tacking. I would ask my friend—and no unprofessional man, as I have reason to know, is better able to answer the question than he is—at what rate does he think a vessel thus rigged would sail *with the wind nearly abeam*?

I had already arrived at very definite opinions on the subject of Caesar's transit when the Professor's essay first appeared, now some six or seven years ago; and most carefully did I review the grounds on which those opinions rested after its perusal: for when a man like Professor Airy comes to the discussion of a question, it behoves those that differ from him to look well to the joints of their harness. Some of his arguments were formidable ones to deal with; and, as I recollect once telling him, if he did not convince he certainly puzzled me. It was only after much thought and careful consideration that I found a way out of my difficulties, and was enabled to rest with confidence in my former convictions. Since that time, though I have closely followed all the later changes of the controversy, I have never again had my faith in the soundness of my conclusions shaken.

The paper written by Mr. George Long is distinguished by a tone and spirit which made me for some time hesitate as to the propriety of answering it. But when I accepted the invitation to lay before the Archaeological Institute my views on the present subject, I placed myself in a position which required me—if I may use a familiar phrase—to meet all comers; and, therefore, if Mr. George Long thinks fit to present himself, I hardly know how I can properly decline his challenge.

Mr. Long, it appears, has published an 'Edition of Caesar's Commentaries on the Gallic War' (Whittaker & Co., Geo. Bell, 1863),—he will not quarrel with me for repeating his advertisement,—in which he has written 'a long note on Caesar's invasions of Britain.' He tells us he 'put the evidence in such a form as to render it unnecessary to be done again. The matter, however, has been examined again

several times, but nothing has been added to the evidence.' He then gives a sketch of his views, and states that my paper 'contains the same conclusions as to the place from which Caesar sailed, the place where he landed, and the point on the Stour where the Britons tried to stop him, but . . . contains some matter which seems to him irrelevant, some that is incorrect, and it adds nothing to the demonstration. I do not,' he proceeds, 'propose to examine the subject fully, for it would require too much space; but I will attempt to make the reader understand what is the exact question and the real difficulty.'

I have procured Mr. Long's book, and find that he and I are altogether at issue as to 'the point on the Stour' where the Britons met Caesar, though it appears we are nearly of one mind as to the place whence he sailed and the place where he landed. But I wish to be informed, what right Mr. Long has to claim any special property in a theory which was again and again the subject of discussion ages before he was born? In winding up my paper, I expressed my satisfaction at finding that, 'both as regards the port of departure and the place of landing, I was in so close an agreement with a man like Camden.' The *theory* was some three centuries old, but the *arguments* by which I endeavoured to support it were for the most part new; and I may add, they were as widely different from those employed by Mr. Long as they well could be.

Mr. Long considers Wissant to be the same name as the Ouessant of Brittany, and that it represents the Latin Uxantis (*Reader*, Sept. 5, 254). He is greatly mistaken. In medieval writings Wissant takes the form of Witsand; and though Mr. Long tells us (Long's 'Caesar,' 28) that 'it is a mistake to suppose that Ouissant is a corruption of White-sand, or any words meaning either white or sand,' I may inform him, that medieval writers expressly state that Wissant did obtain its name from the white sands with which it was surrounded; and, moreover, that the names of places in the neighbourhood are almost exclusively English

—English to an extent I have never met with elsewhere, though I have wandered pretty extensively in the German districts of the Continent. Some of the names which at first sight bear a foreign look, when we trace them back a few centuries, gradually assume an English shape, and are recognized as old acquaintances. The student of English history will not be surprised at this, when he remembers how often during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries occur the phrases, 'Whitsand in Flanders,' 'Boulogne in Flanders,' and the like. That the name of Witsand originally meant white-sand does not admit of a reasonable doubt.

Witsand in modern French became Wissant, or, as it has of late years been written, Vissant. Mr. Long writes it Ouissant. Where did he get this very peculiar orthography? I am loth to believe that he adopted it merely to make out a resemblance between Witsand and Ouessant. He also states (Long's 'Caesar,' 278), that the Flemings still call it Esten, and the French sailors 'Essen.' I have seen the same statement in Walckenaer; but it has been denied by those best acquainted with the district, and is generally considered to be a mistake. I believe it was the same disposition to rely on second-hand authorities that led Mr. Long into a more serious error. He supposes the northernmost of the four ports from which, according to Strabo, people sailed to Britain to be the Portus Icius (Long's 'Caesar,' 16 and 274). If Mr. Long had turned to Strabo, he would have found that author carefully distinguishing the ordinary port of traffic from his 'Itium.' The former, there can be little doubt, was Boulogne.

Mr. Long has given us a very minute description of Wissant, and apparently in the character of an eye-witness (Long's 'Caesar,' 285). I can only said, if he ever really visited the place, he must have walked about with his eyes shut. He tells us the Wissant-brook rises near 'Fort César.' 'Fort César' is a quarter of a mile from Wissant, and the brook rises five or six miles inland. He tells us that the soil round Wissant is 'rich.' It is notoriously barren

—so barren, indeed, that out of the five or six hundred inhabitants of Wissant more than one hundred men are forced to seek a living from the sea. It is a mere fishing village. He tells us also, that 'on each side of Wissant extends a fine sandy beach,' &c.; and that 'this long sandy beach was the best place along all this coast for Caesar's purposes. His ships were made for hauling up[1] (ad subductiones, v. 1); and the beach, which is five or six miles long, would hold more ships than he had, and they could all be floated out at the same time.' He observes elsewhere (*Reader*, Sept. 5, 254), 'The critics will persist in looking for a place on the French coast where Caesar found a port, while his whole narrative shows that he neither wanted nor used a port in the modern sense.' The critics look for a port because Caesar called the place he sailed from a *portus*; and because this Latin word has just as definite a meaning as the word *port* in English. He never gave this name to the open beach where he landed; and he could not have given it to such a beach as Mr. Long describes at Wissant without violating the proprieties of language. But I will inform the reader what is the real character of the beach which Mr. Long pronounces to be so suitable for Caesar's purposes. The sand-downs which protected the ancient port extend in length some two or three miles: their breadth is inconsiderable, but their height in some places cannot well be less than sixty or seventy feet. The sea at high water flows over the sands to the foot of the downs, which rise from the sands at an angle of fifty or sixty degrees—indeed, so precipitously, that in descending them one is obliged to steady oneself by the aid of the little bushes (the *épine de mer*) with which the downs are covered. I need hardly say, that to drag a ship up one of these sand-downs would be an impossibility. The only places where a ship could be hauled up dry on

[1] This statement is not correct as regards the ships used in the *first* expedition.

the beach are at the three gaps to which, in my paper, I alluded as breaking the line of sand-hills.

Mr. Long's theory is quite unnecessary. That up to the beginning of the fifteenth century there was a *port* at Wissant, is as clear as any fact connected with our national history. Here our English kings landed in their journeys to the Continent,—here French kings embarked when they visited England; and at this port, in the year 1193, John fitted out the fleet with which he was preparing to take possession of England during the imprisonment of his injured brother. The port occupied the eastern extremity of the little plain which lies between the sand-downs and the upland; but at an earlier period it, no doubt, extended over the whole plain. Such was probably its condition when Caesar made it his port of departure.

Like others who have treated of Caesar's transit, I stated that he arrived on the British coast at ten o'clock. Roman hours coincide with our modern hours only at the equinoxes; and as Caesar sailed three or four weeks before the autumnal equinox, the reckoning was not a correct one. But it was correct enough for my purpose; and as I had no wish to perplex the reader with fractional numbers and a puzzling calculation, I followed the reckoning of those who had preceded me. If Mr. Long, fresh from the perusal of Ideler, chooses to pour out a flood of very cheap learning upon the subject, I leave him to the enjoyment of his triumph.

Mr. Long's mode of dealing with the difficulty arising from the flow of the tides is, I believe, original. He thus explains Caesar's statement, that he had at the same time both wind and tide in his favour. 'When Caesar says that the tide (*aestus*) was favourable, he means he had water sufficient to keep near the shore. There is only one meaning of *aestus* in Caesar.' And further on he tells us, 'If tide means stream, his statement is not true. If he means by "tide" what I have said—and there is not the

least doubt of that—I should like some sufficient reason to be given, why he could not go on to Deal though the stream was against him, for he certainly affirms that he went on and did not go back' (*Reader*, 254, 255). So Mr. Long considers that Caesar set sail when he saw the tide had risen sufficiently to allow him to keep near shore, and that the wind enabled him to make headway, though the tide was still flowing in the opposite direction. I would ask, could any one that knew the Kentish coast and had ever sailed round the South Foreland have started such a theory?

It cannot be denied that the question of the tidal currents is the great difficulty which meets us in this inquiry. The language of Caesar, and incidental circumstances mentioned by other writers, point clearly to Deal as the place of Caesar's landing. But if he sailed from Doverwick at the 'ninth hour,' and if the tides then flowed off Dover as they do at the present day, it is impossible he could have landed there. I endeavoured to escape from the dilemma by raising two issues: 1st, whether the language of Caesar compelled us to come to the conclusion that he did sail 'at the ninth hour'; and 2ndly, whether we were justified in assuming that the tides now flow as they did in the days of Caesar. It is a curious circumstance that, although I have received several private communications bearing on these questions, they are almost entirely passed over in the papers to which I am now replying. If either the one or the other be decided in my favour, there is an end of the matter. On every other point I consider myself unassailable.

It may be well to recapitulate the changes in the coast-line, on which I rely to support my inference, as to there having been *some* alterations in the tidal currents. They are,—the contraction of the Thames estuary, owing to the 'inning' of its marshes, the silting up of the Wantsum, the destruction of the Lomea, the formation of the Goodwin Sands, the excavation of that deep-sea channel called the

Downs, the 'inning' of the Romney Marshes, and the creation of Dungeness. The fact of there having been such changes may certainly be denied, which would at once raise an historical issue, but surely they ought not to be ignored altogether. They are no 'petty changes,' no 'petites modifications de la côte,' but changes of enormous magnitude, such as are without parallel elsewhere on the British coast, or indeed on the coast opposite, if we except the changes that have taken place in Holland. Can we suppose that they had *no* effect on the inshore tidal currents? Prof. Airy represents me as supposing that 'the tidal hours of turn of current may have been extremely different from what they are now.' If my friend will turn to my paper, he will see that I expressed myself in much more guarded language. My question was, 'Is it likely that the tides continue to flow off that place (Dover) *to the hour* precisely as they did before these changes had taken place?' A very slight alteration in the currents would be sufficient to upset all the conclusions that have been drawn from them. The length of time during which the ebb-tide flows after low water, varies at almost every point of the Channel, and generally the inshore differs from the mid-channel current. I believe Dr. Cardwell's observations on the difference between these currents at Folkestone to be perfectly correct; his error lay in supposing that the law which he had observed at Folkestone prevailed also at Dover. The differences we so often observe in the phenomena evidently arise from very complex causes, and to assume that these inshore currents could not be affected by such changes in the coast-line as I have described, appears to me to be an assumption much too hazardous to reason from.

Before I close the paper, I would make a remark as to 'the point on the Stour' where the Britons met Caesar. Mr. Long tells us it was at Grove Ferry. I know of no reason for his fixing it at this place, which appears to me to have hardly one of the necessary requisites. My own

opinion on the subject was expressed as follows: 'If we pass down the Stour two or three miles, we shall find a locality which answers all the demands of Caesar's narrative. North of the river is a range of low hills, on which still lie large masses of natural wood. The river runs at the foot of the hills, and to the south of it is a flat country which stretches away towards Sandwich and Deal. The latter place is about twelve miles distant.' The 'two or three miles' down the Stour carry us to Sturry and Walmore Hill, and supposing the British *oppidum* to have been here situate, its distance from the Roman *Castellum* (Canterbury) would be much the same as we find it to be in other cases. I devoted the day preceding my lecture to an examination of the neighbourhood, but the heat was terrible, and I was forced to leave before I had sufficiently explored several of the woods. A gentleman, whose knowledge of our ancient history is well known and appreciated, has kindly promised to complete what I left imperfect. Perhaps some vestige of the British earthworks may still remain, and be discovered if diligently sought after.

LETTER TO 'THE ATHENAEUM' OF Oct. 3, 1863.

SANDFORD PARK, OXON, *Sept.* 28, 1863.

WITH reference to the four passages from Gaul to Britain mentioned by Strabo, I noticed, in the *Athenaeum* of Sept. 26, p. 401, Mr. Long's opinion that the northernmost of the four was from the Portus Icius; and I ventured to state my belief that, in forming this opinion, he could not have consulted Strabo's text. I have had my attention directed to the *Reader* of Sept. 19, p. 317[1], where I find Mr. Long contending that the language of Strabo fully bears out the conclusion he arrived at. It may be well, therefore, to examine the issue he has raised.

[1] See the abstract given below, p. 378.

The passage in dispute runs thus:—

τοῖς δ' ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ῥῆνον τόπων ἀναγομένοις οὐκ ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἐκβολῶν ὁ πλοῦς ἐστὶν, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τῶν ὁμορούντων τοῖς Μεναπίοις Μορινῶν· παρ' οἷς ἐστι καὶ τὸ Ἴτιον ᾧ ἐχρήσατο ναυσταθμῷ Καῖσαρ ὁ θεὸς, διαίρων εἰς τὴν νῆσον. Strabo, 4. 5. 2.

I translated it (*Athenaeum*, Aug. 15, p. 212), 'When people sail from the country near the Rhine, the voyage is not actually from the mouth of the river, but from the country of the Morini, who border on the Menapii, *among whom also is the Itium*, which the deified Caesar used as his port when he passed over to the island;' and I drew the inference that Strabo made a distinction between the 'Itium' and 'the usual port of transit.' Prof. Airy agreed with me, considering 'that the emphatic *καὶ* absolutely distinguishes the Itian from the mercantile port of the Morini mentioned in Strabo's preceding sentence' (*Athenaeum*, Sept. 5, p. 302).

The following is Mr. Long's translation of the passage:—'But those who pass from the parts about the Rhine do not sail from the outlets of that river, but from the country of the Morini, who border on the Menapii; and it is they (the Morini) who possess the Itium which the deified Caesar used as his ship-station when he crossed to the island.' This translation is not very definitely worded, and would admit of being construed so as to support my views on the subject; but Mr. Long fixes the meaning he wishes it to convey by the following criticism:—'The words *καὶ τὸ Ἴτιον* refer to *Μορινῶν*, and they tell us the name of the place which is implied in the previous words. They do not, as Mr. Airy supposes, introduce another place to our notice, in addition to a place implied, which has not been named. This use of *καὶ*, particularly in clauses which begin with a relative, as *παρ' οἷς*, is common in Greek writers—Thucydides, for instance—and it occurs in Strabo. The purpose of *καὶ* when it is so used is to mark emphatically some thing or circumstance which follows it, and *not a thing or circumstance in addition to one that has been mentioned.* If we mis-translate *καὶ* in this passage by

the word "also," we shall have two ports mentioned instead of one' (*Reader*, Sept. 19, p. 317). That in such case we shall have two ports *referred to* is certain, and the question raised is whether Strabo did or did not intend to refer to two.

If the piece of criticism I have put in italics were generally admitted, it would be decisive; and if it were the opinion of some independent scholar, I should give it such consideration as it might be fairly entitled to, but the mere *dictum* of a controversialist carries with it no weight. Assertions of this kind are easily made, and are just as easily denied. The point at issue must be settled by an appeal to the judgment of scholars; and I know no better way of ascertaining what that judgment is likely to be than by inquiring what is the construction that has hitherto been put on the passage in question.

Casaubon's edition of Strabo, published in 1587, contained a Latin version by Xylander, which has been often reprinted, and has generally been considered one of authority. It thus renders the disputed passage :—'Qui à Rheni partibus trajiciunt, ii non ex ipso solvunt ostio, sed à Morinis Menapiorum conterminis, *apud quos est etiam Itium*, quo navali usus est D. Caesar, in eam transmittens insulam.'

Siebenkees revised (*emendavit*) this Latin version for his edition of Strabo (Leipzig, 1796), but he made no alteration in the passage we are now concerned with—a proof that in his opinion it correctly gave the meaning of the Greek text.

Coray's version (Paris, 1809) is too loose to be of much service in any question of nice criticism, and his translation of the passage, like that of Mr. Long's, is wide enough to cover both the meanings attributed to it :—'Cependant ceux qui partent du premier de ces endroits s'embarquent non pas précisément aux embouchures du Rhin, mais dans le pays des Morini, qui confinent aux Menapii, et chez lesquels on trouve le port Itius.'

The version of Groskurd (Berlin, 1831)—the most careful and conscientious translation of Strabo that has yet appeared—is more definite:—'Aber die aus den Orten um den Rhenos übersetzenden machen die Fahrt nicht von den Mundung selbst, sondern von den mit den Menapiern benachbarten Morinen, *wo auch der Hafen Ition ist*, dessen sich Caesar der Göttliche als Flottenstandes bediente als er nach der Insel übersetzte.'

Thus of the three principal authorities one is neutral, and the other two construe the passage as I apprehend most other scholars would construe it, and as I believe Mr. Long would have construed it, if he had not committed himself to a statement which can only be supported by doing violence to Strabo's language.

I would make one more observation before I conclude. We find in the 'Itinerary' that the *iters* which run along Agrippa's highway terminate at Boulogne; and Strabo tells us that this highway was carried '*to the ocean* and the Belloaci and the Ambiani' (Geogr. 4. 6. 11). If the original terminus were Boulogne, Boulogne must have been the 'Portus Britannicus' when Strabo wrote, and, therefore, must have been the one he refers to as the most northerly of the four ports. But according to Mr. Long the northernmost port was the Portus Icius—*ergo*, the Portus Icius was Boulogne. Will Mr. Long accept this conclusion?—and if not, how will he escape from it?

LETTER TO 'THE ATHENAEUM' OF MARCH 6, 1869.

CAIUS LODGE, CAMBRIDGE, *March* 2, 1869.

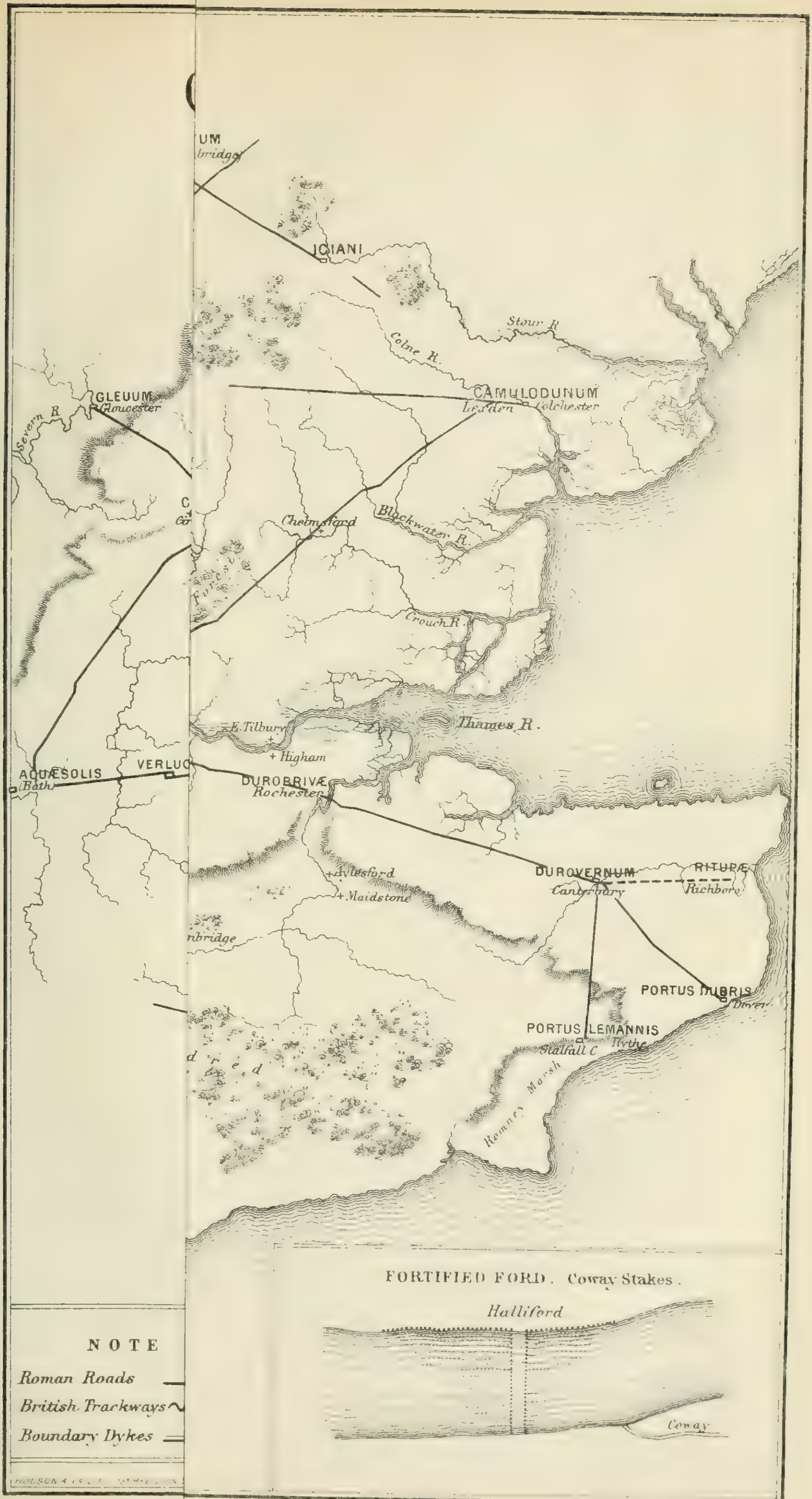
MY attention has been called to a letter which appeared in the last number of the *Athenaeum* (Feb. 27, p. 317). Your correspondent 'N. G.' refers to the well-known passage in Caesar, in which he speaks of the timber-trees of

Britain. 'Materia cujusque generis ut in Gallia est, praeter fagum et abietem. This passage is said to be a most serious obstacle in the way of every hypothesis which represents the place of Caesar's landing to have been in a locality producing beech-trees, or in one from which the march inland would have carried him through districts in which they flourish; for it must be presumed that Caesar would not have alluded to the timber-trees of the country unless he had taken some pains to discover what varieties were to be met with in the parts he visited. Hence it would seem that he could not have landed at Deal, as his advance from that place must have been through tracts abounding in beechwoods; and when Dr. Guest, who upholds the idea that he landed there, suggests (as he did in the *Athenaeum*) the possibility of some of the bare country in that neighbourhood having been clothed with beechwoods in Caesar's time, he appears to propound the overthrow of his own theory.'

I agree in one of the conclusions at which your correspondent seems to have arrived, viz. that the beech is one of our indigenous trees. It is found growing in all our chalk districts, under circumstances which appear to me inconsistent with any other hypothesis; and the North Downs are still covered with beechwoods wherever the land cannot be turned to a more useful purpose. Now, at whatever point on the south coast Caesar landed—whether at Deal, or Folkestone, or Hythe, or Pevensey,—he must have crossed the North Downs on his way to the Thames, and so have passed through 'tracts abounding in beechwoods.' Your correspondent's criticism, therefore, directly attacks every theory which lands Caesar on the south coast, and if it be sound, not only myself, but Professor Airy, Mr. Lewin, and almost all our antiquaries, from Camden downwards must be in error. There is, indeed, a theory which lands Caesar *north* of the river, but we need not stop to examine it; for if Caesar marched up the valley of the Thames—by whatever route he entered it,—

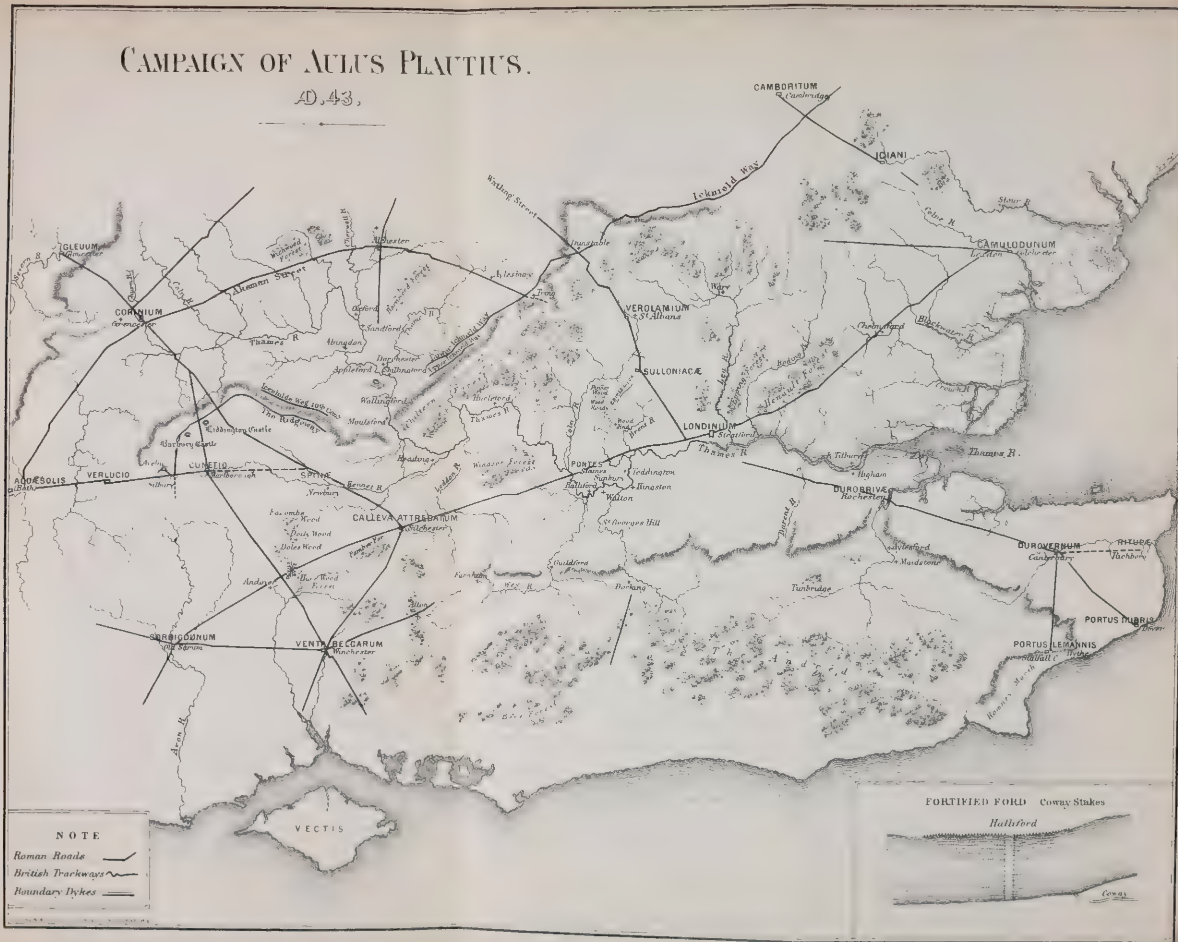
he could hardly fail to meet with the common beech—*Fagus sylvatica.*

Everyone knows that the words *praeter fagum et abietem* have given trouble to the commentators. The general opinion seems to be, that in this passage *abies* meant, not the spruce, but the silver fir, and *fagus*, not the beech, but the sweet chestnut. Both the silver fir and the sweet chestnut grow wild in France; but it seems now to be admitted that neither of these trees is indigenous in this country.



UM
ICIANI
Stour R
Colne R.
GLEUUM
Gloucester
Severn R.
CAMULODUNUM
Lexden
Colchester
Chelmsford
Blackwater R.
Crouch R.
Thames R.
E. Tilbury
Higham
AQUÆSOLIS
(Bath)
VERLUC
DUROBRIVÆ
Rochester
DUROVERNUM
Canterbury
RITUPÆ
Richboro
Aylesford
Maidstone
PORTUS DUBRIS
Dover
PORTUS LEMANNIS
Stutfall C
Hythe
Romney Marsh
FORTIFIED FORD. Coway Stakes.
Halliford
Coway
NOTE
Roman Roads
British Trackways
Boundary Dykes

Campaign of Aulus Plautius. A.D. 43.



APPENDIX.

Abstract of the Arguments referred to in the foregoing Letters.

PROFESSOR AIRY, who had already published his views on this subject, wrote a critique on Dr. Guest's 'Julius Caesar's invasion of Britain,' which was printed in the *Athenaeum* for Sept. 5, 1863, and bears date, 'Royal Observatory, Greenwich, Aug. 25, 1863.' A summary of his arguments is here given.

I. He assents to Dr. Guest's interpretation of *commodissimum* as 'very convenient' rather than 'most convenient,' but he cannot agree with Dr. Guest that Caesar had no time for weighing the merits of different ports. Caesar seems never to have made a march without knowing the nature of the place to which he was going, and of the road to it. He had sent a confidential officer to reconnoitre the coast, and had been himself near the port of embarkation. In all probability he fixed on the port which was best adapted to his purpose.

The denomination of 'Cape Town' proves by analogy that the Portus Itius need not have been close to the Itian headland which may have signified either Gris-nez or Alpreck. Professor Airy still believed that the Portus Itius was exterior to the country of the Morini.

In reference to Dr. Guest's citation of Strabo, he does not consider Strabo an original author on this matter. His inaccuracies on several points seem to show that he had never visited the country, and he appears to have drawn all his information about this part of Gaul from Caesar's commentaries. His statement is in fact little or nothing more than a paraphrase of Caesar's. In examining critically Strabo's words—*παρ' οἷς ἐστι καὶ τὸ Ἴτιον, ᾧ ἐχρήσατο ναυστάθμῳ Καῖσαρ ὁ Θεὸς*—the writer agrees with Dr. Guest that *καὶ* absolutely distinguishes the Itian port from the mercantile port of the Morini mentioned in the preceding sentence, but differs from him in the interpretation of the following words. The fundamental sense of *παρὰ* with the dative is 'adjacency,' or 'proximity.' There are cases in which a complex idea is produced, and *παρὰ* may be

translated 'among' or 'in'; but where the subject is a single object, as a port in reference to the geography of a country, then we must adopt the original and fundamental idea of proximity. Thus the sentence must be translated, 'near to whom is the Itian port.' If Strabo had intended to say that the port was in the country of the Morini he would have used ἐν not παρά.

Caesar nowhere states that the passage from the Portus Itius was the shortest, and there are qualifications of a port far more important than mere shortness of sea passage.

'I now come to the consideration of the nature of the port which Dr. Guest has suggested for the Portus Itius. And I take this opportunity of acknowledging how much I, with other persons more deserving of the name of antiquarian, am indebted to Dr. Guest for the personal inquiry into the fitness of localities which he has conducted with so much care, and for the production of so much medieval erudition bearing on this point.'

With regard to the pool or backwater at Wissant, Professor Airy, without questioning the perfect accuracy of Dr. Guest's account of the present state of the ground, holds that such pools are never sufficiently deep to serve as harbours, and instances those behind the Chesil Bank, behind the Slapton Sands, and the large 'Étangs' on the coast of Languedoc and Rousillon. A fleet of 800 to 1000 ships requires a great deal of space, and he believes there are only two instances in which such large fleets have escaped from their sheltering ports, each at a single tide, the fleet of Julius Caesar from the Portus Itius, and that of William of Normandy from the mouth of the Somme. Could the pool harbour supposed by Dr. Guest or any of the small Picard ports permit this? Surely no other harbour on the coast of France than the estuary of the Somme.

Professor Airy then maintains that all the details of Caesar's description with exception of the one doubtful expression of certain ships drifting down to the Morini, converge to the conclusion that Caesar set sail from the estuary of the Somme.

II. As to the passage across the sea to Britain. Dr. Guest allows that the slowness of passage is remarkable from Wissant. Professor Airy would go further and say that it is incredible. 'Is it possible that the fastest ships of the fleet, sailing under circumstances which are expressly described as favourable, should make only two miles an hour? The Master of Caius, with whom I have shared the

dangers as well as the amusements of boat-sailing on the sea, knows well that the most trifling breeze carries vessels much faster than this.' In a broad-built ferry-boat, with a light breeze, one goes at a quicker rate than at the rate adopted by Dr. Guest for Caesar's best sailers. The easy speed of about five miles an hour would have carried Caesar's fast ships from the Somme to the anchorage off Bexhill in the given time, some ten hours, a more probable course than the twenty miles which Dr. Guest has adopted.

III. As to the landing. In Caesar's description Dr. Guest recognizes the cliffs near Dover, but no commander would steer ships to the foot of cliffs 300 feet high with the intention of landing to invade the country, nor would any defenders station themselves there to repel an invasion. The description suits much better the cliffs between Hastings and Pevensey. Above cliffs of this character it was thought necessary to construct Martello towers which should command the beach below.

After a night-march of twelve miles, which could only be made on a well-frequented road, Caesar found the Britons drawn up near a 'flumen,' whence they retired to a neighbouring fortress. Professor Airy supposes this stream to be the small river Rother at Robertsbridge. Before the sluice at Rye was made the high tide must have drowned the meadows about Bodiham, and run up to Robertsbridge, where would be a pass or ford across a wide tidal estuary—a formidable defence against invaders. With regard to the fortress, a steep hill about four miles off has from time immemorial borne the name of Burg Hill—a name which carries with it the record of a long-established military post far more certainly than any specific tradition or any probable conjecture. 'Here then, as it seems to me, all the requisite conditions are fully satisfied. I again place on record my undoubting conviction that Pevensey Bay was the place of Caesar's landing, and Robertsbridge the place of engagement with the Britons.'

Mr. George Long addressed a letter to the *Reader* of Sept. 5, 1863, on the subject of Dr. Guest's paper in the *Athenaeum*, and another letter to the same Journal of Sept. 19, 1863, on Professor Airy's reply. The following is a condensed summary of Mr. Long's arguments and statements.

First he gives a recapitulation of the positions which he laid down in his edition of Caesar's Commentaries, published in 1853. He then shows that Dr. Guest comes to the same conclusions in all the important features of Caesar's two expeditions, 'but,' he continues, 'this paper contains some matter which seems to me irrelevant, some that is incorrect, and it adds nothing to the demonstration.'

There are two places named Ouessant or Ouissant on the French coast. It appears to be an old Gallic name. Ouessant, the Roman Uxantis, is an island on the coast of Finistère, Ouissant is Caesar's Itius or Iccius (variously written in the MSS.). This last identification is a probable one, for Caesar informs us that he chose the shortest route to Britain, and the shortest cut is from Cape Gris-nez and the beach of Ouissant, which is east of the Cape.

There is no evidence for identifying Itius and Boulogne, which had a Gallic name of its own—Gesoriacum. The measurements across the channel as given by ancient geographers tend to the conclusion that these two ports were some distance apart.

As to Dr. Guest's suggestion that there was formerly between Cape Gris-nez and Ouissant a port capable of holding Caesar's eight hundred vessels, Mr. Long admits that the plain in question once received the waters of the sea before the passage was closed up with sand, but he does not think there was a tide-harbour there capable of holding all Caesar's vessels, nor, if there had been, would he have used it. His vessels were constructed, as he tells us, to be hauled up on a beach, and the long beach of Ouissant was exactly the place that suited the vessels which, after the experience of his first expedition, he had prepared for the second. He had no port on the British coast, but after the second landing in Britain he hauled up all his ships. The critics will persist in looking for a port on the French coast, while Caesar's narrative shows that he neither wanted nor used a port in the modern sense.

In reference to Dr. Guest's remarks about the slowness of Caesar's first passage, which he reckons at ten hours, Mr. Long considers Dr. Guest in error when he supposes that 'the fourth hour of the day' means *ten* o'clock, for if the Roman natural day began at sunrise, it would bring the fourth hour in August to about half-past eight or nine. Arriving with his quickest vessels off Dover about this time past high water, he waited at anchor till the ninth hour, which would be from half-past two to half-past three in the after-

noon, when having both wind and tide favourable he set sail, and at about seven miles from his anchorage he brought his vessels to on an open and level coast.

When Caesar says that the tide (*aestus*) was favourable, he means that he had water sufficient to keep near the shore. On this first voyage, while he was at anchor, he could see the water rise and fall: and he could see how the stream ran.

Mr. Long then quotes the opinion of Lieutenant Burstal on the set of the stream, assuming that the day of Caesar's arrival in Britain was the 27th of August, and that the next full moon was on the night of the 30th of August. This opinion is as follows: 'During the interval between 12.40 and 6.50 p.m. of August 27th, the stream was setting to the westward, and therefore, if Caesar weighed anchor at 3.30 p.m., the stream was setting to the W.S.W., but it is very possible that there was sufficient wind for him to make good headway against the stream, as at that period of the moon, four days before the full, the stream would not exceed one-and-a-half miles an hour. This is on the supposition that he wished to land near Deal or Sandwich, where, in most cases it would be most practicable. But, should the statement be literally correct, that at 3.30 p.m. the wind and tide were favourable, one would be led to the conclusion that the wind was from the N.E. and that he sailed with wind and tide down channel to the Westward, and landed on the first level beach, about two miles from the South Foreland or near the village of Sandgate.'

From this Mr. Long draws the conclusion—Caesar says that he went on with wind and tide favourable. If 'tide' means stream, his statement is not true; otherwise reason should be shown why he could not go on to Deal, since he certainly affirms that he went on and did not go back.

Mr. Long then criticizes Professor Airy's theory, that Caesar sailed from the Somme and landed at Pevensey. He holds that, though this assumption removes the difficulty just discussed about the course of the stream, it raises greater difficulties and cannot be reconciled with Caesar's text.

He conceives that Dr. Guest's conclusion about the changes on the coast-line amounts to this—'The form of the coast in Caesar's time was such that at the hour and on the day above-mentioned, the stream was flowing in a direction contrary to that in which it now flows at the same time. This is his conclusion; for his hypo-

thesis about the coast is presented as a solution of the difficulty about the stream.' This conclusion Mr. Long believes to be false.

He holds that on his second voyage Caesar may have had 20,000 men in all, since the legions were constantly diminishing, not as Dr. Guest supposes from 30,000 to 40,000. There were also no doubt 'Mercatores' (traders) who accompanied the army.

The country about Deal seems to Mr. Long to satisfy all the requirements of Caesar's text as to his landing-place. At Worth, between Deal and Sandwich, is some of the best wheat-land in England.

In his second letter to the *Reader* Mr. Long is chiefly occupied in criticizing Professor Airy's conclusions in the *Athenaeum*. He cannot make Mr. Airy's passage from the Somme to Pevensey Bay agree with Caesar's statements that he sailed the distance of thirty Roman miles and that he chose the shortest way across the channel. He maintains that Mr. Airy mistranslates Strabo, when he makes him say that the Portus Itius was external to the country of the Morini, while *παρ' οἷς* should mean 'in their possession.' Mr. Long further blames Mr. Airy for agreeing with Dr. Guest 'that the emphatic *καὶ* absolutely distinguishes the Itian port from the mercantile port mentioned in Caesar's preceding sentence.' The words *καὶ τὸ Ἴτιον* refer to Μορινῶν, and they tell us the name of the place which is implied in the previous words. They do not, as Mr. Airy supposes, introduce another place to our notice, in addition to a place implied, which has not been named. Mr. Long answers Mr. Airy's objection that if Strabo had intended to say that Itium was in the country of the Morini he would have used *ἐν* not *παρὰ* by giving instances in which Strabo uses *παρὰ* with the dative with the meaning 'in the possession of.'

In reply to Mr. Airy's assertion that 'Caesar nowhere states that the passage from the Portus Itius was the shortest' Mr. Long says 'It is true that he does not state this in direct terms, but still he does say it. He states (4. 21) that he marched into the country of the Morini, because the passage from that country to Britain was the shortest. If any man will dispute about the meaning of "in Morinos proficiscitur," because these words (4. 21) might possibly express only the direction of his march and not the termination, he may compare the use of the same word in 7, 5, 6 and 8. As the

passage from the Morini was the shortest, Caesar ordered all his vessels to come to the country of the Morini; and we conclude that he sailed from the country to which the vessels came.'

After a few other remarks Mr. Long concludes—'The matter is reducible to a small compass. If Caesar tells the truth when he says that he made the shortest passage to Britain, he did not sail from the Somme. He sailed from some part of the French coast between Boulogne and Calais, and he came to anchor somewhere on the opposite coast of Kent. The question is, which way did he go after leaving his anchorage; and that is all. If his narrative is false, we do not know anything about his voyage, and it is not worth the trouble of a guess.'

THE CAMPAIGN OF AULUS PLAUTIUS IN BRITAIN, A.D. 43.

A DISCOURSE DELIVERED IN THE HISTORICAL SECTION AT THE MEETING OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE IN LONDON, JULY 19, 1866.

[Reprinted from the 'Archaeological Journal,' vol. xxiii.]

BEFORE we can discuss with advantage the campaign of Aulus Plautius in Britain, it will be necessary to settle, or at least endeavour to settle, certain vexed questions which have much troubled our English antiquaries. The first of these relates to the place where Caesar crossed the Thames. Caesar tells us (B. G. 5. 11) that 'the river called Tamesis divided the country of Cassivelaunus from the maritime states about eighty miles from the sea;' and, in another passage (B. G. 5. 18), that 'he led his army unto the river Tamesis to the country of Cassivelaunus. The river was passable on foot only at one place, and that with difficulty. When he came there, he observed that there were large bodies of the enemy drawn up on the opposite bank. The bank, also, was defended with sharpened stakes fixed in front, and stakes of the like kind were fixed below under water, and concealed by the river. Having learnt thus much from the prisoners and deserters, Caesar sent forward the cavalry and immediately ordered the legions to follow them; but the soldiers went at such a pace and with such an impetus, though they had only the head above water,

that the enemy could not resist the impetus of the legions and the cavalry, but deserted the bank and took to flight.'

According to Orosius, 'nearly the whole ford under water' was covered with the stakes; and Bede, when he copies the statement, adds (H. E. I. 2), 'The remains of the stakes are to be seen there to this very day (*usque hodie*); and it appears, upon inspection (*inspectantibus*), that each of them was as thick as a man's thigh, and that they were covered (*circumfusae*) with lead, and fixed immovably in the depths of the river.' Bede never saw the Thames; but it is not difficult to point out the man from whom he derived the information he has handed down to us. In the opening of his Ecclesiastical History he acknowledges his literary obligations to a London priest named Nothelm. Nothelm was a Londoner born, and died Archbishop of Canterbury, and there can be little doubt he was Bede's informant. It appears, therefore, that in Bede's time, that is, seven or eight centuries after Caesar's invasion, there was some place on the Thames where the bottom of the river was covered with stakes, and which educated men, who must have been well acquainted with the river and its neighbourhood, considered to be the place where Caesar crossed it.

Camden was the first of our modern antiquaries to direct attention to this subject. He lighted on a place near Walton called 'Coway Stakes,' and as it was 'about eighty miles from the sea,' and as he found there stakes driven into the bed of the river, he fixed upon it unhesitatingly as the place where Caesar crossed the Thames. It is probable that many of the stakes had been removed even before Camden's time, owing to the requirements of the navigation; but a considerable number of them were, no doubt, remaining when Gale visited the place in 1734. He tells us (Arch. I. 183), 'As to the wood of the stakes, it proves its own antiquity, being, by its long duration under water, so consolidated as to resemble ebony, and will admit of a polish, and not in the least rotted. It is evident from

the exterior grain of the wood that the stakes were the entire bodies of young oak trees, there not being the least appearance of any tool to be seen upon the whole circumference, and if we allow in our calculation for the gradual increase of growth towards its end where fixed in the river, the stake, I think, will exactly answer the thickness of a man's thigh, as described by Bede; but whether they were soldered with lead at the end fixed in the bottom of the river is a particular I could not learn: but the last part of Bede's description is certainly just, that they are unmoveable, and remain so to this day.'

At present, when a pile is driven into the bed of a river, it is shod with iron, and also has its upper end strengthened with bands of iron, to prevent its splitting. The stakes could hardly have been shod with so soft a metal as lead; but as iron was costly (*ejus exigua est copia*, B. G. 5. 12), and lead was produced even at that early period in great abundance, the latter metal may have been used to wrap round the stakes, to give them greater stiffness. The uppermost plates of lead must have been removed when the stakes were sharpened. and the rest may have been stripped off in later times by the fishermen.

Hitherto there had been a pretty general agreement among our antiquaries as to the locality of Caesar's ford. But, soon after Gale's visit, Daines Barrington went to Coway, and thought he had discovered a 'decisive proof' that the opinions prevalent on this subject were erroneous. A fisherman, who 'had been employed by some gentlemen to take up the stakes at that place,' told him that the stakes were ranged *across the river*, and, consequently, not in a position to oppose any impediment to Caesar's passage. He refused therefore to consider them to be the stakes referred to by Caesar, and suggested that they might be the remains of some fishing weir. At the beginning of the present century, Bray, the editor of Manning's 'History of Surrey,' paid a visit to Coway, and was

told that the stakes were ranged across the river *in two rows*, some nine feet apart. The fisherman, his informant, had weighed several of the stakes, each as thick as his thigh and shod with iron, and sold them for half-a-guinea apiece to a foolish antiquary. Only one stake was then remaining. Bray seems to have been half inclined to adopt the fisherman's notion, that the stakes were the remains of a bridge[1].

All this conflict of opinion appears to have arisen from a false assumption. Our antiquaries assume that the stakes were fixed in the bed of the river merely to prevent Caesar's passage. I believe them to have been fixed there for a very different purpose, years before Caesar came into the island. I think the stakes formed part of what may be called a fortified ford, and were distributed so as to stop all transit over the river, save along a narrow passage, which would bring the passenger directly under the command of the watch, stationed on the northern bank to guard the fort and to receive the toll. The shallow at Coway was probably of considerable extent, and through its whole length must have extended the line of stakes which Caesar observed on the northern bank. But there must also have been two other lines of stakes across the river to mark out and define the passage. The remaining portion of the shallow was, no doubt, covered with the short stakes that were 'concealed by the river.' These contrivances agree with the means of defence which we know were adopted in other instances. There are ancient strongholds in Ireland, the front of which still bristles over with jagged pieces of rock fixed in the ground, evidently for the purpose of impeding the advance of an assailant.

That such was really the disposition of the stakes may,

[1] Manning and Bray, 'History of Surrey,' vol. ii. p. 759. A 'Coway Stake' is preserved in the British Museum. It was obtained in 1777, as noticed Arch. Journ. vol. 16, p. 203, where also another, in possession of the late Earl of Shrewsbury, is described.

I think, be gathered, not only from the reports of the fishermen, but also from Caesar's narrative. When he saw the Britons ranged along the northern bank with the stakes in front of them, he ordered the cavalry to pass the river, and the legions to follow them. How could either cavalry or infantry cross the river if the stakes were ranged as our antiquaries assume them to have been? The passage could have been effected only by a miracle.

The Emperor of the French has seen the difficulty, and endeavours to meet it. He supposes that Caesar sent the cavalry across the river at some place, either above or below the ford, to take the Britons in flank, and that the soldiers then removed the stakes, when the legions hurried across the river in the way described by Caesar. As the river was fordable 'only at one place,' the cavalry, on this hypothesis, must have swum the river. But to swim cavalry over such a river as the Thames is not a military operation of every day's occurrence. Can we suppose, if it really took place, that Caesar would have made no allusion to it? Besides, what were the Britons doing while the Roman soldiers were removing the stakes in front of them? It is clear they did not break till the legions reached them. Caesar says not a word about taking the Britons in flank, nor about removing the stakes. The whole is mere hypothesis—hypothesis not only unsupported by Caesar's narrative, but, as it appears to me, inconsistent with it. When he had sent the cavalry across the river, he ordered the legions '*subsequi*.' I submit that this means to follow *immediately* after, or, in other words, in company with the cavalry. The employment of the two arms together seems to have been one of Caesar's favourite tactics, and, in describing it, he sometimes uses the very same phrase as on the present occasion, *e.g.* when describing his pursuit of the Belgae (Bell. Gall. 2. 11). There can be little doubt that Caesar's attack was made in front, and that the enemy's position was carried by what, in modern military language, is called 'a rush.' It was a daring attempt, and

not without its peril; but Caesar well knew the men he commanded, and he was successful.

The Emperor sent over engineer officers to examine the present state of the river near Coway. They reported that there was no ford at Coway, but that there were several fords to the eastward—a piece of information which had been long familiarly known to English antiquaries. The Emperor reasons thus: the tide ends at Teddington—the name of which he tells us means Tide-end town—and as Caesar would hardly select a spot for crossing the river where he might be interrupted by the tide, he must have passed it west of Teddington. Of the various fords between Teddington and Coway, the Emperor selects the one at Sunbury, as being, in his judgment, the most convenient.

The fallacy which runs through this reasoning is a patent one. The Emperor reasons from the present to the past without taking any note of the changes that have occurred during 2000 years. In the time of Caesar the river ran from the high levels of Gloucestershire and Oxfordshire to the sea—uninterruptedly. *Now*, from Teddington westward it is a canal, crossed every two or three miles by weirs and locks; in short, a mere string of pounded waters rising step above step till they reach the high levels of which we have been speaking. The tide comes up to Teddington Lock, and there, of course, it ends; but as the lock did not exist in the time of Caesar, any inference drawn from the fact that the tide now ends there, is beside the question. How can we argue from the present artificial state of the river to its state in the time of Caesar? Its scour must be different, its deposits must be different—to say nothing of the dredging-machine, which has been at work year by year from a period antecedent even to the construction of the locks. The river now falls over a weir in a cascade some six feet high, hurries along for a mile or so with a strong current, and then gradually slackens its pace till half-a-mile or three-quarters of a mile before the next weir it becomes a pond, with hardly a

ripple on its surface. It then tumbles over the weir, and the process is repeated. The consequence is, that the silt and gravel beneath each weir are torn up, carried down by the current, and deposited in the still water, so that before each weir there is a tendency to form a shallow, over which in one or more places a man may, in certain states of the river, wade across it. These are the fords which the French engineer officers have brought under the notice of the Emperor. The shallow at Sunbury is a mere consequence of Sunbury weir. Remove the weir, and Caesar's ford at Sunbury would be swept away in a twelvemonth by the natural scour of the river.

I have argued that the fords noticed by the French officers have been produced entirely by the present artificial conditions of the river. But there is one shallow which is due to a very different agency, to causes, indeed, which must have been in operation even as early as the time of Caesar. A spring-tide, when backed by an east wind, comes up to Teddington Lock in great force, and sometimes rises above the weir and sweeps up the river to the next lock. The consequence is an accumulation of silt and gravel in front of Teddington Lock, which is a serious impediment to the navigation, and on which barges may sometimes be seen aground for days together before they can enter the lock. I think it probable that when the river was in its natural state, these spring-tides ran up the river eight or nine miles further—in other words, to Coway; and that the deposit which they now leave at Teddington then contributed to form the shallow over which Caesar passed. This is, of course mere conjecture; but I submit it as a reasonable one.

There is one means of arriving at a conclusion on this much-vexed question which has hitherto been neglected—I mean the topography of the Thames valley. When we find a village or hamlet on the banks of a stream bearing a name which ends in the word *ford*, we may infer with certainty that, *at the time the name was given*, there was a ford

in the neighbourhood of such village or hamlet. Such names are frequent on the upper Thames, *e.g.* Oxford, Shillingford, Wallingford, Moulsford, &c., and even in the forest district round Marlow we have Hurlyford; but from Hurlyford to the sea, a distance of nearly 100 miles, taking into account the windings of the river, there is but one place on the banks of the Thames bearing a name which indicates a ford over it. This solitary place is Halliford, at the Coway stakes. Caesar says there was but one ford on the Thames—meaning, of course, the lower Thames, with which alone he was acquainted, and we now have but one place on its banks the name of which points to the existence of a ford. Our topography is in perfect agreement with his statement; and, to my mind, this coincidence is almost decisive of the question.

In this inquiry it is well to keep in mind the distinction between a ford which is passable under the ordinary circumstances of the river, and a shallow which can only be crossed under circumstances that are special and extraordinary. There are shallows on the Thames, some of them lying east of Teddington, which certain fishermen will tell you can be waded over, while others will as stoutly deny that such is the case. I think it probable that in seasons of drought, or at low ebb with the wind in a particular quarter, men may have passed over these shallows. In the year 1016 Edmund Ironside twice led his forces over the Thames at Brentford; and there are antiquaries who, coupling this fact with the indications of a ford furnished by the name of Brentford, have inferred that there was once a ford over the Thames at that place. But the name of Brentford had no reference to a ford over the Thames; it certainly designated the ford over the Brent by which the Roman Road from London to Staines crossed the latter river. Edmund's passage of the Thames must have been attended with great peril, for we are told in the chronicle that 'there was great loss of English folk by drowning, owing to their own carelessness.' We can readily

understand that the silt brought up by the spring-tides would leave deposits behind it in the bights of the river and also in the tails of the several 'eyots'—some of which, by-the-by, lie off Brentford—and when the scour of the river was weakened by the erection of a bridge at London, these deposits would naturally tend to form shallows. Little is known of the bridge which spanned the river in the eleventh century, but we may assume that like its successor it rested upon huge substructions, and consequently that its action on the tides and the scour of the river was very similar to that of Old London Bridge. The reader will hardly need to be reminded how the old bridge dammed back the water at ebb of tide, and how greatly the scour of the river was increased when this impediment was removed. But there are probably few that have troubled themselves to inquire how far the effects resulting from the altered conditions of the river extended. If my information can be relied on, and I think it trustworthy, these effects were more or less felt as high up the river as Teddington. In Caesar's time, before London bridges were thought of, or London itself existed, I believe the downward current swept every obstruction before it from the Coway stakes to the Nore.

I must now briefly call attention to the districts which Roman geographers recognized in this part of Britain, or rather, I should say, which Ptolemy recognized, for he is our great authority on the subject. Cantium may be said, speaking roughly, to be represented by our modern Kent, and the country of the Trinobantes, which had for its capital Colchester (*Camulodunum*), by our modern Essex. West of the Trinobantes were a people whom our antiquaries call the Catyeuchlani. I have no doubt this is a blundered name. It is only used by Ptolemy, and by him only on one occasion. Dion calls the people the Kataouellanoi, and in a Cumberland inscription they are called the Catuvellauni. Catuvellauni is merely the Latin form of the

Greek name Kataouellanoi; and I shall henceforth give this very important tribe the name of Catuvellauni. Their principal town was Verulam. South of the river were the Atrebates, with Silchester for their capital, and further west were two other tribes—the Dobuni, whose principal town was Cirencester, and the Belgae proper, two of whose towns were Old Sarum and Winchester. I call the last tribe the Belgae proper, to prevent any false inference. The Atrebates were just as much a Belgic race as the Belgae proper; and the same may be said of the Catuvellauni and of the different tribes who ruled in Kent. The people of Winchester and Old Sarum may have been called the Belgae specially, because they were the earliest settlement of that race in Britain.

To trace the boundaries of these different tribes is a question of great difficulty, but of still greater interest. On the northern borders of Middlesex is an earthwork, called by the peasantry of the neighbourhood the Grimesditch. It runs for about two miles to the North-Western Railway, and fragments of it may be found west of the line. Its ditch is to the south, and it must, therefore, have been a boundary of Catuvellauni. It appears to have reached the woodland which once seems to have shut in the Colne valley on the east, and in the other direction I have little doubt that it was connected with the earthworks which surrounded the British town of Sulloniacae (Brockley Hill). But the whole face of the country in that neighbourhood has been long since torn up for brick-earth, and the dyke has consequently disappeared. Whether it was continued east of Sulloniacae I cannot say. Possibly forest may have filled the whole space between the Lea and Sulloniacae; at least, this is the only explanation I can give of the curious turn which the Roman road makes at Tyburn. I would then draw the boundary line of the Catuvellauni from Brockley Hill along the Grimesditch to the woodland, down the woodland to the Brent, and so down the Brent to the Thames.

As the western boundary of the Trinobantes was undoubtedly the marshy valley of the Lea, the question naturally arises, what became of the district between the Lea and the Brent. Here we have the larger part of the metropolitan county unaccounted for. I believe this district, whose market value at the present time is greater than that of any other district of similar extent in the world, was, in the early times of which we are now speaking, merely a march of the Catuvellauni, a common through which ran a wide trackway, but in which was neither town, village, nor inhabited house. No doubt the Catuvellauni fed their cattle in the march, and there may have been shealings there to shelter their herdsmen, but house for the usual purposes of habitation I believe there was none. We have Caesar's authority for saying (B. G. 4. 3) that the imperfectly civilized races of that period prided themselves in having a belt of desolate country around their settlements, and I have little doubt that between Brockley Hill and the Thames all was wilderness, from the Lea to the Brent.

The subject of these boundary dykes is so important, that I make no apology for calling the reader's attention to two others, which belonged to the Atrebates. The Roman road connecting their capital, Silchester, with Old Sarum, no doubt was preceded by a more ancient British trackway. This trackway ran between two masses of forest, remains of which still exist; and in the opening between the forests, a little to the north-east of Andover, there are the remains of a dyke, which I have no doubt once shut in the whole space between the woodlands. The ditch is to the west; so the boundary dyke must have been raised by the Atrebates, and here the wayfarer from Old Sarum must have halted and paid the toll. The other boundary dyke has a historical significance, which bears directly upon the question we have already discussed at so much length. From the Coway stakes the ground rises gradually for about three miles, and then dips almost precipitously into the

valley of the Wey. On the top of the hill (St. George's Hill[1]) is an ancient British stronghold which commands the whole valley, and as the valley certainly belonged to the Atrebates, I infer that it was this people that constructed the fortress. Aubrey tells that 'a trench' went from this fortress to Walton, and gave that village its name. A dyke still runs from the ramparts towards Walton. I have traced it for more than one-third of the distance, and I have no doubt that it once reached the village, and, as Aubrey conjectured, gave it its name. *The ditch is towards the river.* For what purpose could this dyke have been raised? The only object for which I can conceive it was made, was to bar progress along the trackway which led from the Coway stakes eastward to the maritime states. If such were its object, we have another strong proof that the great means of access to the country of Cassivelaunus was at the spot where Camden placed it.

In the country of the Catuvellauni have been found numerous coins bearing the name of a prince called Tasciovanus, together with the name of Verulam. It has been inferred that Tasciovanus was king of the Catuvellauni, and that he minted money at Verulam. Some of his coins have on them the inscription 'SEGO.' It is supposed that this is an abbreviation of Segontium, which we know from Henry of Huntingdon was a name sometimes given to Silchester; and it has been conjectured that Tasciovanus conquered the country of the Atrebates, and minted money in their capital, Silchester. Coins have also been found in that district, inscribed 'EPATICCUS, son of Tasciovanus;' and it would thence appear that Tasciovanus handed down

[1] 'Sur la Colline de Saint-Georges (Saint George Hill), près de Walton sur la Tamise, il n'a jamais existé de camp.'—Histoire de Jules César, 2. 191, n. When I read this note, I began to fear that 'Caesar's Camp,' on St. George's Hill, like so many other of our national monuments, had been swept away in that mania for 'improvements' which has distinguished the last twenty years. But on a visit to Oatlands I was glad to find 'Caesar's Camp' every whit as perfect as on the day when I first made its acquaintance years ago.

his conquest to his son Epaticcus. In Essex vast numbers of coins are found inscribed with the name of 'CUNOBELINUS, son of Tasciovanus.' The coins were minted at Colchester (Camulodunum). In the same district we find other coins inscribed with the name of 'Dubnovellaunus.' It has been inferred that Dubnovellaunus was a successor to, and perhaps a descendant of, Mandubratius, the prince whom Caesar made King of the Trinobantes, and that he was expelled by Tasciovanus, or by his son, Cunobelinus. On the south of the Thames also are found coins bearing the names of Commius, Epillus, son of Commius, Verica, son of Commius, and Tin or Tinc (the name has hitherto been found only in a fragmentary state), son of Commius. It has been supposed that Commius was the Atrebat whom Caesar sent over to Britain, where he was said to possess great influence. We know that he afterwards became a deadly enemy of the Romans, and that he fled to Britain to escape their vengeance. It is a reasonable conjecture that this Gaulish chief succeeded in establishing a principality among his countrymen, the British Atrebates, and that he handed down his British dominions to his sons, Epillus, Verica, and that other son with a fragmentary name, Tin . . . or Tinc . . .

Dr. Birch, in deciphering the legend, 'CUNOBELINUS, son of Tasciovanus,' led the way to the numismatic discoveries on which these historical inferences mainly rest. They are, to some extent, supported by the celebrated 'Monumentum Ancyranum.' This monument mentions, among other kings who fled to Augustus as suppliants, two British princes, one named DOMNO. BELLAVNVS, and another with a mutilated name, of which only the initial 'T' can be made out satisfactorily. It has been supposed that Domno Bellaunus represents the Dubnovellaunus of the Essex coins, and T . . ., the Tin . . . or Tinc . . ., who appears on the coins as the son of Commius. There would be no difficulty in identifying Dubnovellaunus with Domnovellaunus; but the division of the name DOMNO. BELLAVNVS presents a

difficulty. Perhaps the copies of the inscription may be faulty. It is very important that this portion of it should be copied correctly, for it bears directly upon our British history.

There seems to be little doubt that the Divitiacus, King of the Suessiones, mentioned by Caesar (B. G. 2. 4), first led into Britain the Belgic tribes which we find settled in the basin of the Thames. He flourished about 100 B.C. The Cassivelaunus who opposed Caesar must have been descended, if not from the Gaulish monarch himself, at least from one of his officers, and Cassivelaunus may have been an ancestor, perhaps the father, of Tasciovanus. The following scheme will bring at once under the reader's eye the families which exercised lordship in the Thames valley during the century preceding the invasion of Aulus Plautius:—

Commius			Divitiacus Cassivelaunus	Imanuentius
Epillus	Verica	Tinc.	Tasciovanus	Mandubratius
Epaticcus			Cunobelinus	Dubnovellaunus
Adminius	Caractacus		Togodumnus	et fratres

This scheme differs from the one I exhibited at Cambridge, twelve years back, only in the addition of the name of Epaticcus. The name of this British prince was first made out by Mr. John Evans, the same gentleman who discovered, simultaneously I believe with Dr. Birch, the name Dubnovellaunus.

The invasion of Britain by Divitiacus probably took place about 100 years B.C. Forty-five years afterwards we find the Catuvellauni rapidly working their way to a supremacy in South Britain. The chief result of Caesar's invasion was the check it put upon their progress. We are told it was the defection of the tribes which mainly led Cassivelaunus to submit, and we know he was compelled to acknowledge, as king of the Trinobantes, Mandu-

bratius, whom he had driven into exile, and whose father, Imanuentius, he had slain. If it effected nothing else, Caesar's invasion at least relieved the weaker British tribes from the domination of the Catuvellauni.

It was during the depression of the dominant tribe that Commius seems to have established his kingdom south of the Thames. When the Atrebates made their boundary dyke from St. George's Hill to the river, it is clear they must have been in a condition to hold their own against their encroaching neighbours. But before half a century had passed, the tide of conquest was flowing in its old channel, and we find the Catuvellauni driving the successor of Mandubratius from Essex, and the descendants of Commius from the southern bank of the Thames. Everything seemed to intimate that they were about to found a great monarchy in Britain, when the Roman eagles again made their appearance, and the petty fortunes of an obscure British tribe yielded before a mightier destiny.

The campaign of Aulus Plautius, though in its results perhaps the most important that has taken place in Britain, has seldom engaged the attention of our historians. For our knowledge of its incidents we must chiefly rely on Dio Cassius. 'One Bericus,' we are told, induced Claudius to undertake the enterprise; and it has been conjectured that this Bericus was the 'Verica, son of Commius,' whose name appears on coins that are occasionally picked up in Surrey. If such be the case, Bericus must have been an aged man when he fled to Claudius. Plautius was the general selected to conduct the expedition, and a great force was brought together in Gaul to invade the island. But when the troops were assembled for embarkation, they declared that Britain lay beyond the limits of the known world, and refused to proceed. Narcissus, the Emperor's favourite freedman, was sent from Rome to pacify them, and on his arrival was grossly insulted by the soldiery. With the caprice, however, which sometimes

seizes on large bodies of men, they at the same time declared their readiness to follow their general, embarked on board the vessels, and sailed for Britain.

The expedition sailed in the year 43, and Caractacus was captured in the year 50. As to these dates there can be no doubt. But Tacitus tells us (Ann. 12. 36) that Caractacus was captured 'in the ninth year after the war began in Britain.' It is probable that the troops had assembled, and all friendly relations between Britain and the Continent had ceased some time in the year 42, and that Tacitus considered the war to have commenced in that year, though this hypothesis will not account for the words 'in Britain.' The mutiny of the soldiers may have delayed the expedition till after winter, and it probably sailed early in the following spring. From incidental notices that occur in Tacitus, it would seem that four legions were engaged in the early operations of the war, namely, the 2nd, the 9th, the 14th, and the 20th. They came with their auxiliaries (Agric. 18) and their cavalry, so that the force which Plautius led into Britain could not be much less than 50.000 men. He had under him, in subordinate commands, Vespasian, his brother Flavius Sabinus, a man of almost equal merit, and a veteran officer named Cneius Osidius Geta. The fleet, no doubt, sailed from Boulogne, from which we know that Claudius sailed a few months later. Boulogne was the terminus of the celebrated highway which, half a century before, Agrippa had carried across Gaul, and this circumstance alone would be sufficient to establish it as the 'Portus Britannicus,' *i.e.* as the principal means of communication with the island. Having in mind, probably, Caesar's disappointment at Dover, Plautius divided his force into three bodies, to prevent the mischiefs which might result from a check, if all passed over together. There can be little doubt that the three points to which the fleet directed its course were the three little ports on the Kentish coast, which we know the Romans chiefly used in their journeys to the Continent, namely,

Hythe, Dover, and Richborough. The first and last of these are now silted up, but Dover still maintains its place as one of our chief ports of embarkation for the Continent. The Romans met with no opposition on their landing. Britain had been often threatened since the days of Caesar, but never attacked. Augustus, it is well known, entertained thoughts of invading it, and Caligula assembled an army for the purpose, but the Britons received damage from neither. When, therefore, they heard that the army of Plautius had refused to obey its officers, they seem to have considered the danger as past, and to have discontinued their preparations for defence. When the storm at last burst upon them, the petty chiefs of Kent appear to have sought refuge in their woods and marshes, and Plautius had to penetrate deeply into the country before he could find the opponents he was in search of. The following is Dio's account of his movements:—

'Plautius had much trouble in searching for them; but when at last he found them—they were not independent, but subject to different kings—he defeated first Karatakos and afterwards Togodoumnos, the sons of Kunobelinos, who himself was dead. When they took to flight, he won over by agreement a certain portion of the Bodounoi, whom they that are called the Kataouellanoi had under their dominion; and from thence, having left a garrison behind them, they advanced further. When they had come to a certain river, which the barbarians did not think the Romans could pass without a bridge, and on that account were encamped on the opposite bank somewhat carelessly, he sends forward the Keltoi, whose custom it is to swim, with their arms, even over the most rapid rivers; and they having thus fallen on their opponents unexpectedly, though they hit none of the men, and only wounded the horses that drew the chariots, yet as these were thus thrown into confusion, the riders could no longer be sure of their safety. He sent over also Flavius Vespasianus, the same who afterwards obtained the supreme power, and his brother

Sabinus, who served under him as lieutenant, and so they also, having somewhere passed the river, slew many of the barbarians, who were not expecting them. The rest, however, did not fly; but on the following day, having again come to an engagement, they contended on almost equal terms, till Cneius Osidius Geta, after running the risk of being captured, so thoroughly defeated them that he obtained triumphal honours, though he had never been Consul. The Britons having withdrawn themselves thence to the river Thames whence it empties itself into the ocean, and at flow of tide forms a lake, and having easily passed it, as being well acquainted with such parts as were firm and easy of passage, the Romans followed them, but on this occasion failed in their object. The Keltoi, however, having again swum over, and certain others having passed over by a bridge a little higher up, engaged them on several sides at once, and cut off many of them, but following the rest heedlessly, they fell into difficult marshes, and lost many of their men. On this account, therefore, and because the Britons did not give in, even though Togodoumnos had perished, but the rather conspired together to revenge him, Plautius became alarmed and advanced no further. But his present acquisitions he made secure with a guard, and sent for Claudius, for so it was ordered him if any particular difficulty arose, and great provision had been made for the expedition, of other things as well as of elephants. When the news arrived, Claudius . . . crossing over into Britain, joined the army that was awaiting him on the Thames, and having taken the command, passed over it, and coming to blows with the barbarians, who were concentrated to oppose his advance, he conquered them in a battle, and took Kamoulodunum, the royal residence of Kunobelinos. Afterwards he brought many over, some by agreement, others by force, &c., and taking from them their arms, he placed them under Plautius, and ordered him to bring the remainder under subjection. He himself hurried to Rome, having first sent news of

his victory by the hands of his sons-in-law, Magnus and Silanus.'

Camden supposes that the term Bodounoi, or Boduni, to give the Latin equivalent, was another name for the people called Dobuni, and he endeavours to show etymologically that the two phrases, Boduni and Dobuni, have the same signification. Other antiquaries consider the phrase Boduni, which only occurs in this passage of Dio, to be a clerical blunder for Dobuni; and I confess I think their view of the subject to be the more reasonable one. In either case the same people are meant, and the general direction of the Roman march is clearly indicated. Where the two battles took place which were fought before the Romans reached the Dobuni we do not know. The Britons seem to have abandoned Kent without a struggle; but we may conjecture that they would not yield up the district of the Atrebates without a battle, and that they would risk a second to save the countless herds of cattle which must have been pasturing along the upper Thames, in the country of the Dobuni. The Romans, on leaving Silchester, may have marched over the Marlborough Downs towards Cirencester—under the names of these Roman stations I wish to indicate the British towns they supplanted—and on the chalk hills leading down into the valley, Togodoumnus may have met them. After his defeat, the Dobuni were not unwilling to exchange the yoke of the Catuvellauni for that of the Romans, and entered into an alliance with Plautius. The Roman general was 160 miles distant from his ships, and the advantages he derived from making the rich country round Cirencester a new base of operations are sufficiently obvious. From Cirencester he seems to have marched in search of his enemy down the valley of the Thames, and probably along the Icknield Way. This British trackway would lead him to Wallingford; and here, I believe, was fought the great battle of the campaign.

After losing the districts inhabited by the Atrebates and

the Dobuni, the British princes would naturally do their utmost to save from invasion the land which gave rise to their family, and which must have constituted the main element of their power. The country of the Catuvellauni lay, as it were, astride on the woodlands which stretch north of the Thames within the Chiltern. Its three principal thoroughfares were those known in later times as the Watling Street, the Akeman Street, and the Icknield Way. The Watling Street ran from the fords over the Severn near Wroxeter to the fords over the Lea at Stratford, and connected western Britain with the country of the Trinobantes, our modern Essex. Akeman Street came from Bath, and, passing into the London basin by the gap at Tring, joined the Watling Street at Verulam. The Icknield Way came from Suffolk, and ran along the chalk hills of the Chiltern across the other two trackways, coasting the vales of Buckingham and Aylesbury, which were, no doubt, the richest portions of the district. It seems to have crossed the river at Wallingford, and to have run into the vale of White Horse, for a road in that neighbourhood is expressly called the *Icenhilde Waeg* in a charter of the tenth century. For more than a thousand years the ford at Wallingford was recognised as the chief pass on the river. It was at this place that the Conqueror crossed the Thames, and following the Icknield Way to Tring turned his steps thence to St. Albans (Verulam), and so descended upon his prey—London. At this pass, barring access to the rich country in their rear, the Britons took their stand. The fords in front of them were probably fortified, for it is said that when Shillingford Bridge was built beams and piles were taken from the bed of the river. With guards to watch these fords, the Britons might not unreasonably consider themselves secure.

The daring act of the auxiliaries in swimming the river must first have shown Caractacus—for he, no doubt, was the British commander—how much he had miscalculated. In the confusion that followed, Vespasian seems to have

forced his way over the ford at Wallingford. Here a passage had no doubt been left to accommodate the traffic that passed along the Icknield Way, though the fords at Shillingford and Moulsford may have been rendered altogether impassable. The Romans made good their passage of the Thames; bút the Britons did not fly, and how desperate was the next day's engagement appears from the account which Dio has handed down to us. The Britons withdrew their shattered forces along the same route that was followed by William a thousand years afterwards. They were too disheartened to make an attempt to save Verulam, but continued their retreat till they had crossed the Lea and placed the Essex marshes between them and their pursuers.

I have relied for these results chiefly on critical inference. But they are so obvious that they have been partially adopted, though not critically worked out, by other antiquaries; for instance, by Gough (Gough's 'Camden,' i. 30), and by Sir Richard C. Hoare. (Vide Intr. to Gir. Cambr.) I think, however, there is something like authority for the sketch I have given, though it may require some little introduction to lay the authority on which I rely clearly before the reader.

Welsh legends, as handed down to us in the Triads, altogether ignore the conquests of Plautius. He disappears amid the glory which encircles the name of Caesar. and to the latter alone is attributed the Roman conquest of Britain. This tendency to melt into one the two invasions of Britain arose, I believe, from the loose, confused, and what may be even termed the blundered statements which are met with in the classical writers. Orosius never mentions the name of Plautius; and though he refers to the expedition of Claudius, it is done in such a way that the reader might suppose he went to Britain merely to repress some casual disturbances in the island. When Polyaenus tells us that Caesar employed elephants to force his way over the Thames, every critical reader *feels* there must be

some mistake; and when we find that Claudius did actually employ elephants in his advance upon Colchester, we cannot help suspecting that Polyaenus has assigned to the first invasion an event which really took place in the second. Again, when Orosius states that Caesar sailed to Britain in early spring (*primo vere*), we see at once there is a blunder. We know that Caesar sailed on his first expedition in the autumn, and on his second in the height of summer; but as we have reason to believe that Plautius did really sail *primo vere*, we may reasonably conclude that the careless compiler somewhere found the statement that 'the British expedition' sailed *primo vere*, and concluded that Caesar's expedition was referred to.

Alfred translated Orosius, and it is curious to see how he deals with the statements of his author. He abridges, enlarges and alters them at pleasure, not under the guidance of any critical discrimination, but merely in the exercise of that freedom which the usage of the time allowed to a translator. It is well he took this view of his duty, for it enables us to form some estimate of the knowledge he had acquired on the various subjects he deals with. The following is his account of the Conquest of Britain:—

'After that he (Caesar) had conquered them (the Galli), he went to the island Bryttanie and fought with the Brits, and was put to flight in the land that is called Kentland. Soon afterwards he fought with the Brits again in Kentland, and they were put to flight. Their third fight was nigh the river that is called Temese, nigh the ford which is called Welinga Ford. After that fight there submitted to him the king and burgh-men that were in Cyrnceastre, and afterwards all that were in the island.'

Caesar we know never approached either Wallingford or Cirencester, and Orosius makes not the slighest reference either to the one or to the other. I can only account for their appearance in Alfred's work on the supposition that he found them mentioned in some Welsh chronicle, or in

some Welsh compilation like that of Nennius. The Welsh writer he was copying may have confounded the events of the second invasion with those of the first, and so led Caesar along a route which was really traversed a century later by Aulus Plautius. The fact that Alfred makes the battle of Wallingford precede instead of follow the capture of Cirencester need not disturb us. The entry in the Welsh Chronicle was probably much in the following form: 'Anno—Caer Ceren taken, Fight at Wallingford,' some Welsh name, of course, taking the place of Wallingford. Alfred, or the Welsh compiler he was copying, would naturally suppose that the surrender of the fortress was a consequence of the battle, and hence the blunder.

We are now brought face to face with the question which is the great difficulty that meets us in the present inquiry. The conditions of the problem we have to solve may be stated as follows. The Britons in their retreat crossed the Thames by a well-known and accustomed ford, and the Romans 'a little higher up,' by means of a bridge. When the Romans got entangled in the marshes, they retreated, and awaited the arrival of Claudius. Claudius joined the army 'that was awaiting him on the Thames,' passed over it and marched to Colchester. The puzzling question is, where were situated the ford and the bridge here referred to? My own solution of the difficulty is the following. When the Romans came down the Watling Street to the neighbourhood of London, they saw before them a wide expanse of marsh and mudbank, which twice every day assumed the character of an estuary, sufficiently large to excuse, if not to justify, the statement in Dio, that the river there emptied itself into the ocean. No dykes then retained the water within certain limits. One arm of the great wash stretched northwards, up the valley of the Lea, and the other westward down the valley of the Thames. The individual character of the rivers was lost; the Romans saw only one sheet of water before them, and they gave it the name of the river which mainly contributed

to form it. When they stated that they crossed the Thames, they merely meant that they crossed the northern arm of the great lake which spread out its waters before them, and on either hand.

That such is the true interpretation of Dio's language is clear, I think, from the circumstances of the case. I am not one of those who consider the Britons of this period to have been 'barbarians'; but that they were able to construct a bridge near London, over the proper Thames,—a tidal river, some 300 yards wide, with a difference of level at high and low water of nearly twenty feet,—I cannot believe. The construction of a bridge over the marshy valley of the Lea may have been within reach of their ability. The existence, also, of a ford over the proper Thames, at a place which can by any licence of language be represented as lying near the mouth of the river, is beset with insuperable difficulties. At Higham, east of Gravesend, are the remains of a causey that no doubt led to the ferry which we know once existed between Higham and East Tilbury, in Essex. Hasted suggests that it may have led to the ford with respect to which we are now speculating. Other antiquaries have repeated his statement without the hesitation that accompanied and qualified it. It is a sufficient answer to say, that the river in this neighbourhood is six fathoms deep at low water. The notion of there having once been a ford near London has been more widely entertained, and even by men of ability; but it appears to me to be almost as untenable as the one we have been discussing. There is no river in the world, the history of which, for the last thousand years, is so well known as that of the Thames near London. We are told that in the reign of Henry the First there was so great a scarcity of water in the river that men waded across it westward of the Tower; and a similar dearth of water is recorded in the reign of Elizabeth. But these are exceptional cases, and are noticed by the chroniclers, just as they hand down to us accounts of the Plague, or of the

Great Fire. If it be said that the condition of the river may have been very different before the embankment was constructed on the Surrey side from what it has been since. I must appeal to the authority of Caesar. *He* knew the river in its natural state, and had within reach adequate means of acquiring knowledge on this subject. To say nothing of other refugees and deserters, he had in his camp Mandubratius, who had lived all his life in Essex, and must have been acquainted with every circumstance connected with the river. Better authority than a statement of Caesar we can hardly look for. and he tells us distinctly that the Thames was passable on foot *only in one place.* I indulge a hope that I have advanced reasons sufficient to justify Camden's decision in this matter, and which may induce the reader to fix the place at the Coway Stakes; at any rate it is certain that it cannot be fixed in the neighbourhood of London. If neither Dio's bridge nor his ford can be located on the Thames proper, it seems to me that we are necessarily driven to place them in the neighbourhood of Stratford.

When Plautius withdrew his soldiers from the marshes they had vainly attempted to cross, he, no doubt, encamped them somewhere in the neighbourhood. I believe the place was London. The name of London refers directly to the marshes, though I cannot here enter into a philological argument to prove the fact. At London the Roman general was able both to watch his enemy and to secure the conquests he had made, while his ships could supply him with all the necessaries he required. When, in the autumn of the year 43, he drew the lines of circumvallation round his camp, I believe he founded the present metropolis of Britain.

The notion entertained by some antiquaries that a British town preceded the Roman camp has no foundation to rest upon, and is inconsistent with all we know of the early geography of this part of Britain. Such town could not have belonged to the Trinobantes, for it lay beyond

their natural limits, nor to the settled district of the Catuvellauni, for then Caesar's statement that the Thames divided their country from the maritime states, 'about eighty miles from the sea,' would be grossly inaccurate. But if we suppose that an uninhabited marsh-land reached from the Lea to the Brent, we can assign a plausible reason for the construction of the work called the Grimes-ditch, and Caesar's language will have all the accuracy that is usually characteristic of it.

LETTER TO 'THE ATHENAEUM' OF AUG. 11, 1866.

SANDFORD PARK, OXON, *August* 6, 1866.

In your last number I find a criticism on a statement of mine, that from the forest district near Marlow to the sea, 'there is but one place on the banks of the Thames which bears a name ending in the word *ford*. This single solitary place is Halliford, at the Coway Stakes.' Your Correspondent, A. Z., considers me to be 'oblivious of Brentford, and also of the passage in the Saxon Chronicle which states that King Edmund, with his army, passed the Thames at Brentford *twice* in the year 1016. Bishop Gibson, in his edition of Camden's "Britannia" (p. 327), tells us that the Thames, at Old Brentford, was anciently forded with great ease, and was so still in Bishop Gibson's time, there being then at low ebb not above three feet of water.'

It is usual to construe language with reference to the subject-matter. I was discussing the fords over th Thames, and, to prove my inaccuracy, A. Z. points to a ford over the Brent. The ford by which the Roman road from London to Staines crossed this latter river was called by our ancestors Brentford. It lay near the mouth of the river, and therefore near the bank of the Thames, and the name, though it certainly contradicts the *letter* of my state-

ment, is in perfect agreement with its spirit and import. A. Z. seems to assume—indeed, without such assumption his reasoning has no coherency—that the name of Brentford was applied to some ford over the Thames. He is greatly mistaken. *Ex vi termini*, Brentford means a ford over the Brent.

It is well to distinguish between a ford which is passable under the ordinary circumstances of the river, and a shallow which can only be passed under circumstances which are special and extraordinary. There are shallows in the Thames east of Teddington which certain fishermen will tell you can be waded over, while others will as stoutly deny such to be the case, the probability being that, in a time of drought, some one really succeeded in the attempt. That there ever was a 'ford' over the Thames at Brentford I do not believe, notwithstanding the testimony adduced by your Correspondent; and how dangerous was the passage over the shallow by which Edmund crossed appears from the statement in the Chronicle that 'there was a great loss of English folk by drowning, owing to their own carelessness.' The silt brought up by the spring tides, no doubt, left traces behind it in the bights of the river, and also in the tails of the several 'eyots,' and when the scour of the river was weakened by the erection of a bridge at London, these deposits would naturally tend to form shallows. Of the bridge which spanned the river in the eleventh century we know but little; we may, however, assume that, like its successor, it rested upon huge substructions, and consequently that its action upon the tides and the scour of the river was very similar to that of Old London Bridge. Every one knows how much the river was deepened by the increased scour which resulted from widening the waterway when the old bridge was removed; but few, probably, have inquired how far these altered conditions of the river extended. If my information can be relied on, and I think it trustworthy, they were in some degree felt even as high up the river as Teddington. In Caesar's time, before

London bridges were thought of, or London itself existed, I believe the downward current swept every obstruction before it, from the Coway Stakes to the Nore.

It struck me that one means of testing the truth of these speculations was afforded us by the topography of the Thames valley. The names of the villages and hamlets are of great antiquity, and probably date from the period when our ancestors first settled in the district. They seemed to me to confirm in a very remarkable manner the statement of Caesar that the Thames was fordable 'only in one place.' From Marlow to the sea, *i.e.* for upwards of 100 miles, I found no village or hamlet on the banks of the Thames whose name indicated a ford across it, with one exception—Halliford, at the Coway Stakes. I have taken some trouble in this matter, but have hitherto failed in my attempt to find another exception. Brentford certainly is not one.

INDEX.

A.S. = Anglo-Saxon.	Heb. = Hebrew.	k. = King.
Ass. = Assyrian.	Ir. = Irish.	l. = lake.
Bret. = Breton.	Lat. = Latin.	m. = mountain.
Brit. = British.	M. = Modern.	med. = mediaeval.
Celt. = Celtic.	N. = North.	*n.* = note.
Copt. = Coptic.	O. = Old.	perh. = perhaps.
Eng. = English.	Phoe. = Phoenician.	prob. = probably.
Fr. = French.	Sansc. = Sanscrit.	r. = river.
Gae. = Gaelic.	Sc. = Scotch.	syn. = synonym.
Ger. = German.	W. = Welsh or West.	var. = variety or variant.
Gk. = Greek.	dim. = diminutive.	

|| denotes an analogy between two languages, races, etc.

( ) following the name of a place gives either its ancient or modern equivalent, or the authorities by whom it is used.

ERRATA.

Volume I.

Page 26, line 33 and elsewhere, *for* Pugh *read* Pughe.
,, 27, l. 17, *for* Phraggio *read* Phraggoi.
,, 36, l. 8, *for* Akuatanoi *read* Akuitanoi.
,, 43, footnote, *for* chap. iv. *read* chap. iii. p. 85 and vol. ii. p. 26.
,, 46, l. 31, *for* Teuristai *read* Tauristai.
,, 58, l. 18, *for* Asterloa *read* Astarloa.
,, 111, l. 1, *for* alce *read* alces.
,, 151, footnote, *dele* 191, 196–199, *and read* 194–198.
,, 156, l. 25, *for* 138 *read* 168.
,, 178, l. 37, *for* 19 *read* 10.
,, 231, ll. 11, 17, and elsewhere, *for* Bosphorus *read* Bosporus.
,, 242, l. 3, *for* Arimi *read* Arimoi.
,, 265, l. 29, *for* 241 *read* 237.
,, 310, ll. 5 *and* 10, *for* Armeni *read* Armenii.
,, 360, l. 7, *omit* w or.
,, 372, l. 20, *for* Chasse *read* Chaise.
,, 382, l. 21, *for* Katuellanoi *read* Kataouellanoi.
,, ,, ,, footnote, *for* Sabhraun *read* Sabhrann.
,, 391, l. 16, *for* Canenfates *read* Canenefates.

Volume II.

Page 6, line 37, *for* Bretanni *read* Britanni.
,, 42, l. 22, *for* 388 *read* 384.
,, 96, l. 12, *for* baccae *read* braccae.
,, ,, l. 13, *for* thew *read* threw.
,, 144, l. 33, *for* Paul *read* Peter.
,, 239, l. 18, *for* Dunstaple *read* Dunstable.
,, 263, 265, 266, 271, *for* Jeffrey *read* Geoffrey.
,, 302, l. 31, *dele* or.